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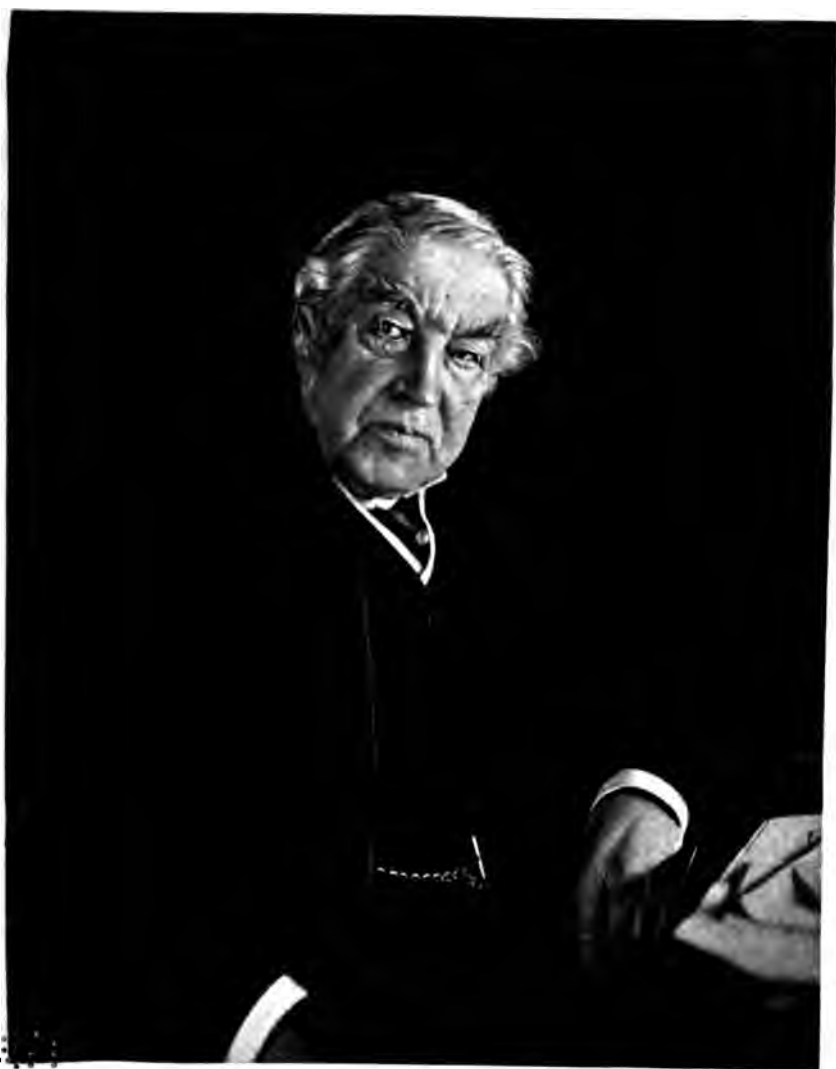
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THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.,
P.C., K.C.M.G.

201



SIR CHARLES TUPPER AS A YOUNG MAN

From an oil painting

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

AMHERST, *October 16, 1844.*

TO THE HON. J. W. JOHNSTONE.

DEAR SIR,—It having been suggested to me that you would feel interested in the recent political movements in this county, I gladly embrace the opportunity of J. Haliburton, Esq., going to Halifax to transmit to you a brief sketch of what has transpired. In apology for the meagreness of the detail, I might here premise that although I was enabled to attend the whole of the discussion here I took no notes of the proceedings. I was called to see a patient twenty miles distant just as the meeting terminated, and since that time my professional avocations have monopolised my time entirely up to the present moment. At the same time, whilst my memory may be defective and my limited knowledge of politics may lead me into some inaccuracies which you will readily detect, I think the following statement will be found substantially correct.

About a fortnight since R. M. Dickey, Esq., M.P.P., gave notice that he would meet his constituents at Parrsboro' on Tuesday, the 8th inst., and explain to them the course he had pursued in Assembly during the past winter's session. He went for that purpose (I think unattended). I understand that the meeting was convened and addressed by Mr. Dickey and Mr. G. Lewis, and when about separating Mr. Howe appeared, the packet having just then reached Parrsboro'. Mr. Dickey gave permission, and Mr. Howe addressed the meeting, after which it separated without any resolutions being offered by either party. On Wednesday, Messrs. Howe and Lewis came on to Macan and held a meeting, when I am told they passed resolutions. About noon on that day intelligence reached Amherst that Mr. Howe was in Cumberland and intended holding a meeting the day following at this place. No definite information, however, as to Mr. Howe's intended movements could be obtained by the Conservative side until half past twelve on Thursday, at which time J. McCully and James Page, Esqrs., sent a requisition to the Sheriff requesting the use of the Court House to hold a meeting at 2 p.m. on that day for the purpose of political discussion.

The Hon. A. Stewart, who had remained here to attend the wedding of his daughter, who was to be married at 5 p.m. on that day, consented most cheerfully to attend the meeting.

Between 2 and 3 p.m. a considerable number of persons, being assembled, J. Chandler, Esq., Sheriff, was unanimously called to the Chair. Mr. Stewart then called upon the Sheriff to read the requisition and the names attached, and stated the time that it

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

employment. Sharp, whose wife was one of my patients, at once promised his vote. As I was returning to the wagon I met Mr. Baker, his face blazing with indignation at my audacity in canvassing a man in his employment. I said : ' Mr. Baker, I am a candidate for the county, and will be glad to have your support.' He replied fiercely : ' You won't get it—I will do all I can to oppose you.' I replied : ' You need not be so angry ; I do not need your vote, but I thought you might wish to go with the crowd,' and jumping into my wagon, I drove on.

" I also met during the election Dr. Inglis, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, who said : ' Dr. Tupper, I am told you are entering public life. Let me advise you never to be on non-speaking terms with any public man, or the time will come when you will find that it will conflict with the public interest.' I thanked his Lordship, and now, after a long public career, deeply regret that I did not always act upon his suggestion, of the value of which I am now fully convinced. I may also add, as the result of many years' experience of public life, the importance of public men, however strongly opposed, never losing sight of the fact that the exigency of public affairs may at some time compel them to act together. One of my strongest opponents was my dear wife, who expressed the earnest hope that I would be defeated. She, however, sat at the open window of a brick house occupied by a friend on the nomination day. It was a long way from the hustings at the side of the Court House where we stood in the open air, but my voice could then be heard at a great distance. The nomination took place at 2 o'clock. There was a great concourse of people, not only from all parts of the county but also from Westmoreland, the border county of New Brunswick.

" The Hon. Mr. Fulton, who was then a member of the Government, and Mr. McFarlane spoke briefly, and Mr. Howe and I spoke an hour each alternately until sunset. When I joined my wife to return home, she said : ' Is it

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

Many of the members evinced some consternation as Dr. Tupper proceeded, and evidently expected an explosion from Mr. Johnstone, who was known to be a very high-tempered man. To their great surprise, he said :

“ Gentlemen, I am afraid there is too much truth in what Dr. Tupper has said ; but I am too old to change front, and I think the best thing we can do is to give Dr. Tupper *carte blanche* to remodel the Conservative policy.”

His proposition was agreed to, and from that hour Dr. Tupper became the virtual leader of the Conservative party. He declared his belief that while building railways by companies was sound in principle, and perhaps the better policy, yet he thought all hostility to the railway policy of the Government should be abandoned.

At that time the individuality of Dr. Tupper was as unique and pronounced as it ever was in any stage of his long political career. Then, the fear of man, fear that engenders submission or cowardice, was to him a mere sound, utterly without meaning. His courage was leonine and unyielding. It is enough to say that he was endowed with his father's memory. His prescience never trod the slow, weary way of the logician. He got to his conclusions by a process so swift that it may be called intuition. His mental equipment was of such a character that no side of a subject was out of sight or obscure. Without being logically conscious of it, essential principles were the pillars of his political heavens. He would not attempt to undermine them ; and against any man or party who did undertake it, in the twinkling of an eye his mental artillery's hottest fire was trained. Accumulations of the knowledge of provincial politics were packed away in his capacious memory, ever ready to serve him both in private and public. In his mind the law of suggestion was sensitive, alert and vigorous. In action he belonged to the present throbbing days of steam and electricity. As he

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

"While I am addressing the House I may say that if this Committee is to be appointed I trust that its functions may be properly understood. I trust that if the railroad is now to proceed—as for our own credit it must proceed—this House will not be denuded of its power of regulating the route which shall be chosen. I have no idea that the Committee now to be chosen shall interfere with the question of cutting down a hill or going round it; but I do ask that their duties shall be of a substantial character. The Legislature has given to the Government the power to construct the railway, and the Government have appointed the Commissioners; therefore, as regards the question of accounts, I take for granted this House will hold both responsible, and neither absolve the one nor relieve the other. And I trust it will not be found, as has been asserted in the Press, that Cumberland is to be excluded from the benefit of this new accompaniment of civilisation—the railroad. That we are to have it now is no longer a question. The policy of having railroads, and railroads by Government, is now settled; but I trust that policy may be made subservient to the interest of the country at large. I have been happy to hear a rumour (of which the Government may give us more information than I possess, but which, I hope, may be correct) that the hon. and learned Attorney-General of New Brunswick, who passed through this city a few days ago, has tangible proof that New Brunswick will soon be ready to proceed with a railway through that Province, to connect us with our brethren there—with the United States and Canada; and I hope that before any minor matter as to whether the track shall go through Stewiacke or Gay's River be taken into consideration—the great question of connecting us with the whole continent shall employ our earnest attention. I approve of the Committee, and trust that the eastern part of the Province will be well represented on it."

Mr. William Young, the Premier, was light-hearted in looking forward to the work of the session. With keen sarcasm inquiries were playfully made whether or not there was an Opposition, but at an early day in the session this humour came to an end. The impact on the Government's policies by the new debater produced a seriousness felt by every man in the House, whether an opposer or a supporter of the Government. In discussing the dismissal of a sheriff of Cumberland County, Dr. Tupper made an early declara-

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

his (Mr. Johnstone's) restoration to power, the object that alone induced him to enter public life, he would prefer to decline and continue his professional work, and retire altogether from the Legislature at the first general election. Mr. Johnstone told Dr. Tupper that unless he would take office he would not attempt to form a Government. Dr. Tupper then decided to embark fully upon the troubled sea of politics, and was sworn into office as Provincial Secretary on Monday, February 23, 1857.

Sir Charles says in his journal :

“ Mr. James Fullerton was nominated to oppose my return for Cumberland, and Mr. William Young came into the county and conducted the campaign against me. The anti-Catholic cry was raised, but after a severe struggle I was returned by a majority of 137, and took my seat in the House on the 4th of April. I resided during the session with my friend Dr. Parker. It was at his house that the discussion with Mr. Johnstone on the formation of our Government took place, and he, as a warm mutual friend, was cognisant of all that occurred. When Mr. Johnstone pressed me to become a member of his Government I told him that I held very strong views upon the long-vexed question of the mines and minerals of Nova Scotia being beyond the control of the Government and Legislature, owing to the improvident lease granted by the Imperial Government to the Duke of York, and that I thought he should resign his position of solicitor to the General Mining Association, who held the coal mines under that lease. Mr. Johnstone agreed with me and promptly resigned that position, and on the 16th of April moved a resolution authorising the Government to send two delegates, representing both sides of the House, with power to settle the question, provided both should agree, subject to the ratification of the Legislature. This resolution was carried, and I addressed the following letter to Mr. Adams Archibald, the Solicitor-General of the late Government :

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

of the British Government, and made it the instruction of the Crown to the representative of Her Majesty here.

If, notwithstanding all this, it be true that Lord Mulgrave has been "heartily sustained" by the British Government in his refusal to accept the advice of an Executive Council, who had never been legally outvoted, to appeal to the people in defence of the most cherished institutions of this country, and a dissolution, desired and sought by an undoubted majority of the electors of the Province, is denied them, then it is equally apparent that the same influences that obtain the appointment to a Colonial Governorship from a British ministry will be sufficient to sustain the incumbent in whatever course the caprice or self-interest of the Governor may dictate in the most important crisis.

I am constrained, my Lord, to make this remark because I learn that Lord Mulgrave has informed your Grace, in a State paper which accompanied Mr. Johnstone's memorial, that in his Excellency's opinion the result of a dissolution would have been to give the party who have illegally usurped power a large majority. I am unable to quote his Lordship verbatim, as he has refused Mr. Johnstone a copy of that paper also.

Your Grace will naturally inquire what, then, could possibly induce the Lieutenant-Governor to refuse to dissolve. His Excellency knew that the party then in opposition were dependent for a majority of two upon the open violation of the law, and that the law and the Legislature would be brought into contempt if they were permitted thus to triumph over right and legal enactment; and he was further relieved from all responsibility by the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, both in this Province and in England, and the instructions of the Crown itself, advising and directing a dissolution under the precise circumstances that had then taken place.

Humiliating as it is to reflect that we occupy such a position, I am compelled to state that I look in vain for any explanation for conduct so incomprehensible and inconsistent on the part of Lord Mulgrave, except to the insolent declaration in the organ of that party, that if he dissolved and they obtained power, their first act would be to move an address to the Crown for his recall.

I am informed that Lord Mulgrave has so far forgotten himself as to slander the late Government in a dispatch to your Grace, by the unworthy imputation that their conduct was influenced by an undue anxiety to retain the official position they held. With these

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

The discussion of this matter was long and animated. Mr. Johnstone, drawing upon his knowledge of constitutional law and his ability for clear and forceful argumentation, contributed his part in condemnation of the course taken by the Governor. Supported by the ablest legal mind in the province, Dr. Tupper became more assured, more forceful in his efforts to convince the public that law and right were sacrificed at the shrine of a weak and falling Government, and that the Governor himself had given the weight of his influence to inflict and fasten this great wrong on the province.

The agitation extended to the people. Fires broke out in some places. A petition from a county east of Halifax, signed by eight hundred electors, was sent to the Governor praying for a dissolution that would give the people the opportunity to sweep out of existence a Government that held office by trampling on political justice and constitutional law. The beleaguered and weakly-manned fort, however, held out for two more years, when the end came with a deluge.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

him socially, professionally and politically. Dr. Tupper replied that much as he valued his support, he could not retain it on those terms, and when he obtained power those reforms would be carried out. At the next meeting of the Medical Society, Dr. Almon proposed for President Dr. Tupper, who was unanimously elected. He remained one of Dr. Tupper's personal, professional and political friends down to the close of his life, and saw with as much pride as did Dr. Tupper the establishment of a poor asylum and hospital worthy of the city.

In the autumn of 1860 Dr. Tupper was invited to open the Mechanics' Institute at St. John, N.B. He there delivered an address on "The Political Condition of British North America."¹ After reviewing the then condition of the various provinces, he proposed a Federal Union as the best means of providing intercommunication by rail, free commercial intercourse, elevating their status, increasing their strength, importance and development, leading to the acquisition of the great Rupert's Land lying between Canada and the Rocky Mountains. The Hon. Leonard Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, and the Hon. John H. Gray, leader of the Opposition, were present, and warmly supported his views.

The next evening Dr. Tupper gave a lecture at Portland, opposite St. John, advocating a Legislative Union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island as a preliminary to the larger union.

This lecture attracted great attention, and in the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1861 Mr. Howe introduced a resolution in favour of union which was seconded by Dr. Tupper and passed unanimously.

The following was the resolution :

"Whereas the subject of the union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces of British America, has been

¹ The text of this address is given in full in "Recollections of Sixty Years." (Cassell and Co., Ltd.)

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

passed to the end of Mr. Johnstone's life—may in the political history of Nova Scotia be likened to an "apple of gold in a picture of silver." The salutary effect of this ~~course~~ ^{experience} had a lasting effect on Dr. Tupper throughout his long, active life.

The Government now formed consisted of the following: Mr. Johnstone, Premier and Attorney-General; Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary; W. A. Henry, Solicitor-General; James McNab, Receiver-General; Isaac Le-Viecount, Financial Secretary; and without portfolios, John McKinnon, Thomas Killam, Alexander McFarlane and S. L. Shannon. Lord Mulgrave was deeply mortified when the Conservative Government required him to restore to office the gentlemen whom he had dismissed, but justice demanded the restitution of their rights. The relations between him and the Government were relieved by the fact that he soon after succeeded to the title of Marquis of Normanby and returned to England. The new Government met the House under Major-General Charles Hastings Doyle, who had been appointed Administrator.

In handing over the office of Provincial Secretary to Dr. Tupper, Mr. Howe said: "Do not forget that if at any time I can be of service to the country I will be glad to assist you." Dr. Tupper thanked him and told him that he would not hesitate, under such circumstances, to ask his aid.

Immediately after his daughter's¹ death in 1863, Dr. Tupper was obliged to go with the Hon. Mr. Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, to Quebec to arrange with the Canadian Government a survey of the Intercolonial Railway. He joined Mr. Tilley at Fredericton, and they drove to Rivière du Loup and went thence by rail to Quebec. The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald was then Premier of Canada, and the House was in session at Quebec. Lord Lyons, then the British Minister at Washington, was there at the same time, and as

¹ Sophia Almon Tupper died of diphtheria on August 13, 1863.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

one especial means—that of compulsory assessment for the support of common schools. This Bill does not propose, however, to take that course. I confess that my views have undergone no change on this subject since the first session I had the honour of a seat in this House, when I voted for a resolution approving of a system of compulsory assessment for the support of the common schools of this Province. But after a careful examination of the whole subject, looking at it with a sincere desire to come to such a conclusion as would best advance the wide diffusion of education among the people, I have come to the belief that in the present condition of this country it would not be either wise or politic to carry immediately into effect a system of compulsory assessment. Whilst I have thus hesitated to provide for compulsory taxation, the Bill which I now introduce is framed with a view to render that system as gradually acceptable to the people as possible.”

The Bill thus introduced by Dr. Tupper made all necessary arrangements to pave the way for the introduction of compulsory assessment. Indeed, it met with but little opposition. For many years a process of education had been going on in the public mind in favour of the support of schools by assessment. The success of schools in the New England states was a stimulus to the ambition of Nova Scotia not to be too much belated in a work so essential to the prosperity of the country. As soon as his Bill became law, Dr. Tupper looked about for a man to take the position of superintendent. Fortunately, his attention was turned to T. H. Rand, a graduate of Acadia College, and at the time teacher of Greek and Latin in the Normal School, and Dr. Tupper discerned in young Rand just the man he needed for the heavy work of carrying his common school system into operation. All arrangements had been perfected for carrying out the Education Bill of 1864 before the House came together in the following year. During the period between these sessions the belief became current that taxation would be added to the system. The Opposition papers did not fail to make capital out of the Government's intended purpose. But Dr. Tupper did not wait for public sentiment. He resolved on creating it by the influence of

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

His Excellency the Governor-General to invite a delegation from the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland to meet at Quebec on October 10 to consider officially a proposal to unite the British North American Provinces in one Confederation.

The delegates and members of the Canadian Government all accepted Dr. Tupper's invitation to visit Halifax, where a banquet was given them at the Halifax Hotel on September 12. This was attended by the Lieutenant-Governor, Vice-Admiral Hope, the Chief Justice, and many members of the Assembly and Legislative Council. After the loyal toasts had been disposed of, Dr. Tupper, who presided, proposed "The Provincial Delegates." In the course of his speech, he said :

"I am perhaps safe in saying that no more momentous gathering of public men has ever taken place in these provinces, whether regarded as comprising the ablest and best men, not only of one party, but of both the great parties into which all these colonies have been divided. When I speak of Canada, although only the Executive Government is represented, I need not tell this assembly that on the great question which has engaged our deliberations, two parties who have stood in the most determined political antagonism to each other have been brought together ; all minor considerations of questions of party have been merged into one common sentiment to unite in order to elevate their common country, and provide it with a stable and efficient government. I am therefore in a position to say that in all these provinces both parties are fully represented. After the deliberations of the past week I have the proud satisfaction of being able to state to this assembly to-night that a more harmonious, united, or cordial body of men, without a single exception, never was brought together in an endeavour to benefit their common country. I will go further and say I have reason for believing that the great question on which they are engaged will receive at no distant day a satisfactory solution at their hands."

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, the Hon. George Brown, and the Hon. S. L. Tilley made able and eloquent speeches in favour of union.

Dr. Tupper proposed the next toast—"Colonial Union"—and coupled it with the name of the Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

Hon. E. B. Chandler, M.L.C.; Hon. W. H. Steves, M.L.C.; Hon. John H. Gray, M.P.P.

Prince Edward Island: Hon. Colonel Gray, Premier; Hon. Edward Palmer, Attorney-General; Hon. W. H. Pope, Provincial Secretary; Hon. George Coles, M.P.P.; Hon. Heath Haviland, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Whelan, M.P.P.; Hon. H. A. McDonald, M.L.C.

Newfoundland: Hon. F. B. T. Cartier, Speaker of the House; Hon. Ambrose Shea.

The Hon. Sir E. P. Tache was appointed chairman, and the provincial secretaries of the Provinces were appointed secretaries.

It was resolved that the vote should be given by provinces, Canada having two votes. On the 11th inst., at the request of the secretaries, Lieutenant-Colonel Bernand was appointed Executive Secretary. It was unanimously resolved that the federal system should be adopted. It was also decided to follow the model of the British Constitution as far as circumstances would admit.

Upon Dr. Tupper's motion it was resolved :

"That for the purpose of forming the Legislative Council the federated provinces shall be considered as consisting of three divisions : 1st, Upper Canada ; 2nd, Lower Canada ; 3rd, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, with equal representation in the Legislative Council."

It was also decided that each division should have twenty-four members, which would give Nova Scotia and New Brunswick ten each and Prince Edward Island four.

Upon the motion of Mr. J. A. Macdonald it was unanimously resolved :

"That the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the Great Seal of the General Government, and shall hold office during life."

It was upon Dr. Tupper's motion resolved :

"That the members of the Legislative Council for the General Government shall, in the first instance, be selected from the Legis-

CHAPTER VII

ORIGIN OF ANTI-CONFEDERATION (1864-66)

BY this time a feeling of fraternity had begun to spread among the people of all the Provinces. Social intercourse, mingled with the business of giving form and direction to Confederation, began to create a strong sentiment of friendly kinship. From the day that the Provincial Secretary introduced into the Nova Scotia Legislature a resolution for Maritime Union until the delegations at Quebec left for their homes, a wonderful unanimity had prevailed. No ominous cloud appeared on the horizon. But after the delegates, full of assurance and buoyant with hope, gave to Halifax audiences the results of the Quebec Conference, all of which had been echoed by the Press of both political parties, there was seen in Halifax a little black cloud, not larger than the one discerned by Elijah from the heights of Carmel.

Who swung open the gates of the cave and gave Nova Scotia the whirlwind of anti-Confederation? is a question often asked but not yet answered. As Joseph Howe was the superintendent of the storm, it has been assumed that he was its creator, but facts do not warrant this assumption.

The prime inspiration and promotion of this movement in its initial stage can be traced to a Halifax merchant, prosperous and honest in his large, successful business career from beginning to end. No one acquainted with the Hon. W. J. Stairs would attribute to him, in the part he took in the anti-Confederation movement, any motives other than those of fairness and honesty. He was a keen, clever financier. In the proposed Confederation he saw lasting disadvantages and injury to the Maritime Provinces,

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

American Colonies has been a subject of constant discussion in this Province from that time. Yet the opponents of Union were only able to obtain the signature of 8,085 people out of a population of not less than 350,000 for presentation to the House during the present session, praying that it might be referred to the people at the polls.

"The resolution which passed the Legislature to send delegates to London was carried in the Legislative Council by thirteen to five, and in the Assembly by thirty-one to nineteen. All the members of the present Government and four members of the late Government, of which Mr. Howe was leader, united in sustaining the resolution, while but two voted against it.

"Under the circumstances the Council believe that they are fully warranted in the opinion that the public sentiment of the Province has been most emphatically expressed on this great question in the manner recognised by the Constitution of the Province and the protection of Great Britain."

An important question was agitating Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces in the early part of 1866. The Canadian Government proposed to issue licences to United States fishermen to ply their nets in British North American waters. The following extracts from official "Minutes" reveal the feeling of the Maritime Provinces on the matter :

"May 9, 1866.

"The Executive Council having carefully considered the dispatch from His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada of April 4th, 1866, and the approved Minute of the Canadian Government enclosed therein, proposing that fishing licences should be issued to the fishermen of the United States during the present year, have the honour to offer the following observations :

"The Council regret that the Government of Canada, in a matter so vitally affecting the rights and interests of the Maritime Provinces, should have proposed a policy to the Imperial Government without previously consulting with the other colonies to be affected by the proposed arrangement.

"The Council, after the most serious deliberation, and with a view to meet the wishes both of the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada, are compelled to state that they are of opinion that any concession at this moment of the admitted rights

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

policy ; suffice it to say, that the Council entertaining the opinion that that policy would be most disastrous in its effects upon British interests, felt it their duty to respectfully submit their opinions for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

"After giving this important question the most careful consideration, the Council regret that they cannot change the opinion which they had formed, but they fully appreciate the necessity of meeting the view of Her Majesty's Government, so strongly expressed in Mr. Cardwell's despatch of the 25th ultimo, and accordingly withdraw their objection, and agree to grant the licences for the year as desired.

"June 22, 1866."

The history and final outcome of the device of issuing licences to the fishermen of the United States, which culminated in the Washington Treaty of 1871, is a case in evidence of the subtle insight Dr. Tupper had of the working and tendencies of expediencies in political matters. The foregoing shows that from the first he saw that this nominal licence would be, to United States politicians, a transparent veil used in a futile attempt to conceal British timidity.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

mishap. Remained at Blenheim September 9 to 21, 1866."

Another extract from Sir Charles's journal reveals the methods of the Anti-Confederationists in England :

"It was, after all, fortunate that we went to England when we did. Mr. Howe had gone to England as soon as our House was prorogued, accompanied by Messrs. Annand and Hugh Macdonald, 'to carry the war into Africa.' Shortly after our arrival he published a pamphlet, entitled, 'Confederation Considered in Relation to the Unity of the Empire.' A copy was sent to every member of the Houses of Lords and Commons. Lord Carnarvon sent for me, September 22. He told me that this brochure had caused great consternation among the friends of the proposed Confederation; that he had just breakfasted with a large number of the members of both Houses, where the opinion was unanimous that a great mistake had been made, and that it would be ruinous to pass the Act. He put the *Star*,¹ Mr. Bright's organ in London, in my hand. This paper had been a strong advocate of Confederation; but a two-column leader that morning gave an elaborate review of Mr. Howe's pamphlet, endorsing his views in the strongest manner. Lord Carnarvon and Sir C. B. Adderley (now Lord Norton) urged me to deal with the subject at once and endeavour to stem the hostility to the measure which Howe's pamphlet had created. I promised to do the best I could. I at once wrote asking an interview with the editor of the *Star*. I received a reply inviting me to come to his office at 3 o'clock the next day. I met Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Chesson, who were then editing the *Star*. I introduced myself as the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, and said it would perhaps save time if I read a letter which I had prepared on their review of Mr. Howe's pamphlet for insertion in the *Star*, and I thought they would

¹ The *Morning Star*.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

“ In the drawing-room after dinner, I said : ‘ My lord, we have had some discussion as to what you meant in a part of your sermon, and I ventured an opinion that you meant (so and so).’

“ ‘ Why, that is exactly what I did mean ; but I see you have given some attention to these matters.’

“ I replied : ‘ My father was a Baptist minister, and my attention was naturally drawn to Biblical criticism.’

“ I saw in an instant that he recollected what he had said at dinner ; but his lordship was equal to the occasion. He said : ‘ Baptist minister, was he ? Well, I can understand anyone being a Baptist ; but what I cannot understand is how our Evangelical Church people can be anything else.’

“ Colonel North was Captain Doyle, on leave from his regiment in India, when he met Baroness North, who was a granddaughter of the great Lord North. Captain Doyle resigned his commission, married her, and took the name of North ; became a colonel in the militia, and represented Oxford in the House of Commons until after her death. They had one son, Lord North, who became of age shortly before we were there. Colonel North was an excellent man, respected by all who knew him, and the Baroness a clever and very interesting woman, much older than her husband. I have never known man and wife more devoted to each other.

“ My wife and I received the Queen’s commands to attend a Court for presentation, but as I had cabled to call the Legislature for the 16th of March, I wrote to Lord Carnarvon explaining that I was obliged to sail before the date fixed. In consequence, we received the Queen’s commands to attend a Court on the 27th of February. This was a Court which was usually confined to the Diplomatic Corps of foreign countries and gentlemen who had received important appointments.

“ At half-past twelve of that day, Mr. Macdonald, Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Tilley and myself were presented

British North America Act

taken, to express my opinion on public questions—I have never hesitated openly, at all times and everywhere, to avow my deep and settled conviction that in a Union of British North America lay the only great future for any part of these Provinces. True to these principles, whether in power or in opposition, to the best of my ability, I have advocated and sustained these views. I pledged myself to my countrymen, at all times and under all circumstances, that whatever power and influence they might put in my hands, I would feel bound to use for the purpose of advancing the interests, elevating the character and promoting the security of our common country by a union of British North America. Believing as I do that not only the most marked prosperity would have followed, but that the only security and guarantee for the continued possession of British principles in any portion of British North America was involved in that great question, I have never hesitated to declare my opinion that it would have been wise on the part of Nova Scotia to have entered into that union under the terms proposed by the Quebec Scheme. . . .

“I was reminded in 1860, after my lecture in St. John and elsewhere, that my sentiments were not novel, that they were borrowed from my political opponents, and that the gentleman then at their head, Mr. Howe, was one of the originators, as I have never denied he was, of this great scheme of union. I felt that there was no originality in my views, that all I had endeavoured to do was to give form and substance to the question—to pledge myself as a public man, devoted to the service of the country, to promote the consummation of this great scheme. . . .

“It was stated that if the British Government had had only proper information on this question—if that dark cloud which prevented them from seeing the real facts of the case was only blown away, they would sustain the views of the gentlemen opposite. . . . But let me ask when these gentlemen were advocating responsible government in this country, what did they tell us they were going to give us? The institutions of Republican America? No. They said they intended to give us responsible government, so that the people in this country might be governed in precisely the same manner that the people in the British Islands are governed. Who are the interpreters of the British system? When gentlemen raise an issue on constitutional practice, they should sustain their course by reference to the authority from the country from which we take our system. The whole question was put before the statesmen and people of England by a gentleman, second in ability to none in this country, who is one of those who can almost make the worst appear the better reason, who can put his views

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST CONFEDERATION GOVERNMENT (1867—68)

THE Roman Catholic Archbishop and all the leading friends of Confederation in Halifax were very urgent that Dr. Tupper should run for Halifax with Mr. John Tobin for the House of Commons. In response to a large and influential requisition, he had decided to do so, leaving the seat in Cumberland to Mr. McFarlane. Before, however, he had answered the requisition, a strong agitation arose among the Roman Catholics to have an Act passed giving them separate schools, so that they might have the advantage given under the Imperial Act to minorities. The Archbishop wrote to Dr. Tupper saying that he found he could secure him the general support of his people in Halifax only if he would support such a measure. Dr. Tupper was very indignant, and his final decision was indicated by a card over his signature published in the *British Colonist* pledging himself to stand for Cumberland.

The following form of resolution was sent to Dr. Tupper by the Archbishop, with a note saying unless it was carried in the Nova Scotia Legislature he could not hold his people together in his support :

“Whereas the people of the Province of Nova Scotia are about entering into Confederation with the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada ; and whereas it is of the highest importance that all Protestant and Catholic minorities throughout the several school districts should enjoy the same rights and privileges regarding education, as those enjoyed by their fellow subjects in the two Canadas or in any other part of the Confederacy ;

“Therefore resolved, that the School Law in Nova Scotia be assimilated to that now prevalling in Upper and Lower Canada, on the

The First Confederation Government

subject of the education of religious minorities, whether Protestant or Catholic."

To this, Dr. Tupper replied in a letter which concluded :

" In view of all these considerations I trust your Grace will not press for the consideration of this measure by the present Legislature, as I am satisfied such a policy would be most disastrous to the best interests of your own people to whom you are so devoted."

Other correspondence was as follows :

Good Friday, 1867, Noon.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I suppose you are half angry with me, but if you have reason to be agitated and displeased with politics so has your humble servant to a very large extent.

Messrs. Power and Cochrane are out, and there is not an hour to be lost in filling up your list for Ottawa and Halifax, and then we go at them right away. If anything, be it ever so little, can be done for the school business it will help you and me immensely. If not, the priests and myself are still with you, but let neither J. Tobin nor yourself speak or vote against anything of that kind or it would be certainly fatal. . . . Energetic action is now required, and prudence and caution still more. We are thinking of sending a written protest to Power and Cochrane to-day, signed by myself and all the priests. What think you ? Try and get Dr. Binney's signature to your requisition. Mine and that of all my priests is at your service if you think it would not injure you with Protestants—you have to decide that. I thought I had forwarded the enclosed note from P. Power. Would that the House had concluded its business. Frequent conferences should be held for the next week. I must come out at once in some ostensible form, as otherwise some of our people may be pledged beforehand.

Let me see you soon, and here I am,—Your ready and fighting friend,
THOMAS L. CONNOLLY.

HALIFAX,

April 20, 1867.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—You are right in supposing that I have been much surprised and deeply hurt, that after publicly committing myself to this constituency upon the distinct pledge from your Grace that the question of separate schools should not be raised until after the election, you should inform me that effective support must depend upon my aid to pass such a law during the present session. I am

The First Confederation Government

December 21, 1865, in consequence of a disagreement on the question of a delegation to Washington.

Mr. William McDougall and Mr. William P. Howland requested A. J. F. Blair to take Mr. Brown's place. This he did, and continued to represent the Liberal party in the coalition. The two former were invited by Mr. Macdonald to assist in forming a Government for the Dominion. When meeting for that purpose, the Hon. G. E. Cartier, the leader of the Conservatives of Lower Canada, said that he could not carry the Province of Quebec unless he had two French members in addition to himself. The Hon. A. T. Galt was indispensable as the representative of the English-speaking people of that Province. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was the only representative of the Irish Catholics in the Government. Messrs. Howland and McDougall took the ground that they could not obtain the support of their Liberal friends in Ontario unless that Province (so much larger in population) had a greater representation in the Cabinet than Quebec. Mr. Macdonald said that with six members from Ontario and five from Quebec, and two each from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which were indispensable, the Cabinet would contain fifteen members, which was obviously too large. At the end of a week's hopeless effort to overcome this difficulty, Mr. Macdonald announced his intention of abandoning the effort and advising the Governor-General to send for the Hon. George Brown, who had called a convention of the Liberal party at Toronto for the following Wednesday to oppose any Government formed by Mr. Macdonald. Messrs. Howland and McDougall said in that event they would have no alternative but to attend that convention and go with their party. Dr. Tupper saw that the formation of a strong Liberal-Conservative Government for the Dominion, to which he attached the utmost importance, was about to end in a miserable fiasco, and determined to prevent, at any personal sacrifice, what he regarded as a national mis-

The First Confederation Government

The Hon. Geo. E. Cartier, *Minister of Militia and Defence.*

The Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley, *Minister of Customs.*

The Hon. Alex. T. Galt, *Minister of Finance.*

The Hon. William McDougall, *Minister of Public Works.*

The Hon. W. P. Howland, *Minister of Inland Revenue.*

The Hon. Adams G. Archibald, *Secretary of State for the Provinces.*

The Hon. A. J. F. Blair, *President of the Council.*

The Hon. Peter Mitchell, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*

The Hon. Alex. Campbell, *Postmaster-General.*

The Hon. J. C. Chapais, *Minister of Agriculture.*

The Hon. Hector L. Langevin, *Secretary of State.*

The Hon. Edward Kenny, *Receiver-General.*

Lord Monck announced the same day that Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Tilley, Tupper and Howland had been created Companions of the Bath, but Cartier and Galt both declined the honour.

Dr. Tupper acknowledged the distinction conferred on him in the following letter :

ARMDALE, HALIFAX,

August 16, 1867.

MY DEAR LORD MONCK,—I had the pleasure of receiving recently when in the country, a letter from your Lordship, informing me that Her Majesty the Queen had done me the honour of conferring upon me the dignity of a Companionship of the Order of the Bath, in recognition of my services as one of the delegates to the Conference respecting the Union of the Colonies. I beg to assure your Lordship that I am not more gratified by the personal distinction conferred upon me than by the assurance it conveys of the deep interest felt by Her Majesty and the Imperial Government in the Union of these Colonies, a measure destined, as I believe, to increase greatly the prosperity of them all, and add new dignity to British institutions on this side of the Atlantic. Permit me, my Lord, to add that the pleasure afforded by your communication has been very much enhanced by the very kind terms in which it was conveyed.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

I cannot regret that I had not the honour of forming one of your first Privy Council for the new Dominion, as I have the satisfaction of feeling that by declining a seat in the Cabinet I was enabled to present a solution of difficulties otherwise irreparable, and thus aid in the formation of a strong and useful administrative.—With much respect, Believe me to be, Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HIS EXCELLENCY BARON MONCK,
Governor-General.

The general election took place in August and September, and resulted in a large majority for the Government. Dr. Tupper was opposed in Cumberland by Mr. Annand. Howe went into the county, and a series of pitched battles were fought all over it. Notwithstanding Dr. Tupper's most persistent and vigorous efforts, he secured a majority of only ninety-four. Archibald and all the other supporters of Confederation were defeated. The hostility to Dr. Tupper's measure for free schools supported by direct taxation, the absence of himself and the other confederate leaders in England for ten months previously, the desertion of his leading supporters in Halifax, merchants and bankers, the fact that the Conservatives who were his main supporters were left, by his declining a seat in the Government, without any representation there, and the wild excitement caused by Howe's fierce declaration that the Province had been sold into bondage to Canada, aroused a storm that carried all before it. Every seat but Dr. Tupper's in the House of Commons, and all but two in the Local Legislature, were carried by the anti-Unionists.

The proposal adopted at the Quebec Conference, at Dr. Tupper's suggestion, that the seats in the Senate should be in the first place offered to the existing Legislative Councilors, and fairly divided between the two parties, was carried out.

Parliament met on November 6. Mr. Howe made a violent speech against Confederation, to which Dr. Tupper

The First Confederation Government

replied. When Dr. Tupper rose to answer Mr. Howe, his sight never having been in the slightest degree impaired, on referring to a quotation in the newspaper which he said he would read, he was not a little surprised to find he could not see a word. He quoted from memory, and from that time forward was obliged to use spectacles.¹

Dr. Tupper told Sir John Macdonald that he would not take Mr. Archibald's place in the Cabinet, although he had no doubt of his carrying the county, and Mr. Archibald was continued in office until the following April.

A Bill was passed during the first session providing for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. The Hon. A. T. Galt, on the refusal of Sir J. A. Macdonald to come to the rescue of the Commercial Bank, resigned the office of Finance Minister, and was succeeded by Hon. John Rose, who introduced a Bill regulating the rate of interest. A rather amusing incident occurred in connection with that measure. Sir John Macdonald was anxious to prevent a certain motion on the order paper being reached at that sitting, and requested Dr. Tupper to hold the House for that purpose. Dr. Tupper said: "What do you wish me to speak on?" Sir John looked at the paper, and answered: "The motion of the Minister of Finance respecting the rate of interest is before it—speak on that." Dr. Tupper replied: "Unfortunately, I am opposed to that measure." Sir John said: "Well, speak against it, then." Dr. Tupper took him at his word and spoke for an hour, until Sir John gave him a hint that it was not necessary to continue longer. He resumed his seat, and the measure, which at a previous stage was carried by a majority of 30, was defeated by a majority of 8.

¹ A report of Dr. Tupper's speech is given in an Appendix to "Recollections of Sixty Years."

The Repeal Movement in England

ing the Union of the Provinces acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia.”¹ In the circumstances, the Premier thought it wise to accept this view of the matter, though he did so with great reluctance.

Sir John informed Dr. Tupper, before leaving, that the Imperial Government had sent a dispatch to the Governor-General declining to accede to the proposal of Canada to increase the licence fee on American fishing vessels from 50 cents to \$2.00 a ton, and he wished him to address himself promptly to that question on his arrival, as it was one of great importance. He also desired Dr. Tupper to secure the assent of the British Government to the sufficiency of the provision of £4,000,000 sterling to construct the Inter-colonial Railway, which was necessary to secure the Imperial guarantee of the loan.

Immediately after his arrival in London, Dr. Tupper called upon the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and discussed briefly these various questions. The Duke invited Dr. Tupper to spend the Easter holidays with him at Stowe Park, where they could go fully into these matters, and said if there were any peers or members of the House of Commons he would like to meet, he would invite them. Dr. Tupper told His Grace that he would be glad if he would invite Mr. Howe.

The following correspondence will show how these important matters were dealt with :

OTTAWA,

March 23, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—You will see by the papers that Galt regularly sold Cartier about the mission to England. It has, however, done no harm except to himself. In order to destroy the argument that your mission was hostile to Nova Scotia, and an insult to it, as Blake and Holton declared, I carefully prepared the Order in Council, a copy of which I enclose you. The debate was spirited, but is shockingly reported, in fact not reported at all. It will serve, however, to show you how necessary it is that you should adopt the most

¹ For the full text of this letter see “Recollections of Sixty Years.”

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

conciliatory tone with your Nova Scotia friends. I trust you will be able to arrange matters with Howe, and I shall look eagerly for a telegram. I will write you next mail respecting the fisheries.—In great haste, Yours always,

J. A. MACDONALD.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W.

April 9, 1868.*

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I duly received your note of the 23rd ult., and the copy of the Minute of Council. Day before yesterday I received your cable telegram respecting the fishing licenses and giving me the awful intelligence of the assassination of poor McGee.¹ It was announced in the morning papers, but I hoped against hope until your telegram came. I cannot tell you how inexpressibly it has shocked me and the very painful sensation it has created everywhere here. I enclose a notice of his death in the *Telegraph*, which expresses the universal sentiment felt towards his memory in this country.

I found the Government and all our friends here very much gratified by my arrival, as the efforts Howe and Company were making through the press, and members of Parliament, occasioned a good deal of anxiety. Until I hear from you to the contrary I will observe your instructions to keep out of the newspapers, although the opinion of the Government here and all our friends as well as my own is the very reverse.

I explained fully to the Colonial Office the views and policy of the Canadian Government, and they meet with their hearty concurrence. There will be no difficulty there. What I fear is an unpleasant discussion in Parliament. Bright has promised to bring the question forward, and I fear statements may be made which will foment agitation in Nova Scotia and encourage our annexationist opponents in the United States (vide Goldwin Smith's speech in *Times*, April 11). . . .

. . . I called and left a card for Mr. Howe (who was not in) immediately after my arrival, and saw Annand and Smith, but made no reference to politics. Last Monday morning Howe came to see me here, and we spent two hours in the most intimate and friendly, I may say unreserved discussion, of the whole question. . . . I told him if he went back to Nova Scotia and told them that before

* This and the following letter appeared in full in "Recollections of Sixty Years," and these extracts are given here to show the sequence of events.

¹ The Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee was assassinated at Ottawa on April 7, 1868.

The Repeal Movement in England

entering upon any further antagonism they had better give the Union a fair trial he would find the Government and Parliament of the Dominion not only ready to make any practicable concession to the interests of Nova Scotia, but to give the public sentiment of the people, as expressed at the election, the fullest weight. That a seat in the Government and the position declined by myself would afford the means of doing justice to the claims of the Nova Scotia party, and that I would unite my fortunes with theirs and give them the most cordial support. He appeared deeply impressed by my statements, and said a great many civil things, but expressed his fears that if he took that course his party would abandon him. . . . The Duke has entered warmly into my views and has invited Howe and myself to visit him at Stowe Park next Monday. . . .

I have done all that I could respecting the Railway matter and the fishing licenses. The Duke referred me to Mr. Elliot for their discussion, and he assures me that he is entirely satisfied and goes with me fully as to the sufficiency of the amount provided by Parliament in Canada for the Railway, and also agrees as to the advisability of raising the licenses to \$2 per ton, and will represent both matters in this light strongly to the Duke. . . . The Chancellor of the Exchequer in the one case, and Lord Stanley in the other, have to be brought to concur in the policy on both questions, had previously agreed upon them adversely to our wishes, and it is impossible to do anything that requires accord in two departments during the holidays. The mission was too long delayed. I ought to have been here a month earlier. . . . I think I have ascertained Mr. Galt's difficulty in coming with me. General Doyle tells me that Howe and his friends confidently relied upon Galt effecting with them the overthrow of your Government, and I assume Mr. Galt was too deeply committed to present himself in London with me to counteract Mr. Howe's efforts. . . .

I must also tell you that Howe suggested, although he said he could not propose it, that a commission of three English gentlemen should be appointed to report upon Confederation for the information of Parliament, etc. This could, I think, only be done without compromising the Dominion by being suggested or rather challenged by the Canadian Government in answer to the attacks on it. The effect in case of a struggle, i.e. if nothing can be done with Howe, would be to gain time and let us in Nova Scotia down easily. I told Howe that, of course, I could not suggest it, and said it was besides open to the great objection that it would keep up agitation, and prevent him and his

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

friends availing themselves of the present favourable opportunity of acquiring a position and influence to serve the Province. Write me fully by return of post, and give me suggestions for every alternative.—Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

April 18, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Since I last wrote you on the 9th instant, I have spent three days at Stowe, when I had an opportunity of discussing matters fully with the Duke. I think I satisfied him on the railway question, and he told me that so soon as he could communicate with the Chancellor he hoped to be able to send a message to you which I think will meet the case fully, viz. : “ That the Imperial Government are satisfied with the provision made by Canada if any of the surveyed routes are adopted.” I think I also satisfied his Grace that assent ought to be immediately given to raising the fishing licenses to two dollars, and doing away with the present arrangement as to notices, but this morning Mr. Elliot sent for me to tell me from the Duke that Lord Stanley insists upon the licenses not being more than a dollar, and making no alteration as to the notices. . . . Lord Stanley’s policy is evidently one of abject dread of the United States, and to give them anything *British American* that they ask. I have presented in the strongest terms the fact that the licensing was only assented to by the Colonies for a single year, and that the plan proposed is practically to abandon the fisheries altogether, and keep up the existing restrictions on trade and promote continued difficulty with the United States. That the policy we propose would lead to an early renewal of reciprocity, and settle the whole question permanently. I have also urged that Lord Stanley’s course will arm the malcontents in Nova Scotia with the argument that in annexation alone can that province look for protection to her most important interests.

After a very pleasant visit at Stowe and the most friendly intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. Howe for three days, he and I had a long and confidential conversation the night before he left. He expressed again his fears that if he took the course I suggested he would be abandoned by the people and defeated, but I have pledged him, in case he takes the patriotic course, my most loyal support, and, I think, satisfied his scruples on that point. He suggested that it would materially aid him in reconciling the Nova Scotia party if the Government here would throw upon your administration the duty of dealing

The Repeal Movement in England

with the question, and I undertook to aid in that matter. If there is any faith in men I think I may consider the matter, if judiciously managed by you, *settled*. I have assured him of a seat in the Cabinet, and at the Intercolonial Railway Board for Nova Scotia members, and the fullest and most favourable consideration, financially and otherwise, for the Province from your Government. . . .

On talking the matter over with the Duke after Howe had left, he requested me to give him my suggestions as to a despatch in answer to Howe and Company, and I sat down and hurriedly wrote the paper, of which you have here a copy.¹ The Duke said it entirely agreed with his own views. I hope the course I have taken will be approved. The Duke says that your Government ought to have someone here authorised to confer with him during his negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Co., and fully acquainted with the opinions of the Canadian Cabinet.—Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD.

P.S.—The Duke says I must not leave here until the discussion is over in Parliament.

The following extract from a letter to Sir George Cartier, under date of April 30, is of interest :

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—I need not tell you the satisfaction I enjoyed when the Duke sent for and showed me the answer to my application—an Order in Council from the Queen conferring a well-deserved Baronetcy upon you, which I hope you will live long to enjoy. . . .

With kind regards to Lady Cartier and family, I remain, Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. SIR G. E. CARTIER, BART.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

May 2, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—The Duke of Buckingham told me on Thursday that he was still in hopes that Lord Stanley, who was "much shaken, but not quite convinced," would consent to our wishes respecting the fishing licenses. The attempt upon the life of the Duke of Edinburgh took the Colonial Minister away to Osborne at the time this matter was to have been disposed of by the Cabinet. The deadlock in political parties here just now makes it almost impossible to get anything

¹ This memo. to the Colonial Minister is reprinted in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

even considered by anybody. I told you in my last that I had seen Mr. Cardwell, and that he thought it would do great good for me to see Mr. Bright. I may tell you in passing that both Mr. Cardwell and Lord Carnarvon said that the friends and the promoters of Confederation here would have had great reason to complain if the Dominion Government had not sent me here to meet any statements that might be made by the Nova Scotia delegates.

I met Bright in the Tea-room of the House of Commons. He was very cordial, said Mr. Cardwell had sent him my pamphlet (of '66), which he had read with great interest, and asked me to come to his lodging the next day, when we spent 2½ hours discussing the question, and parted on the most friendly terms. He promised me that he would be careful to do us no harm, and seemed to think that a Committee of the House, which had evidently been proposed, would do no good. Lord Carnarvon is prepared to deal fully with the question if it comes up in the Lords. He got me to give him the most explicit information. Mr. Vernon Harcourt has been retained by the delegates, and got his brief for the bar of the House of Commons, but the Duke says he does not think it likely that the House will agree to such a proposal. If they do, I will have to petition, after he is heard, to have him answered, and Watkin suggests that Mr. Hope Scott should be retained.

I met Mr. and Mrs. Howe at a union conversazione of Presbyterian ministers last night. I called to tell him of the death of poor Weir the other day. He had not heard it and was much affected, the more so as they were formerly great friends and had not spoken since the elections. I am still sanguine that he will fall into line so soon as he has failed with the Government and Parliament. The Duke showed me the despatch, a copy of which is to be given to Howe in answer to their address, etc. It is substantially the same as the memorandum I gave him at Stowe, and will, I think, meet the case well. You must keep the seat in the Cabinet, and one at the Intercolonial Railway, and Cartier's chief militia appointment for Nova Scotia, and the vacant seat in the Senate, for Howe and his friends, as he will need them all to bring the party at once into line and put an immediate quietus upon the agitation. I am more and more convinced that the character and success of the Dominion demands the *immediate* removal of the Nova Scotia difficulty, and that it must be done at any personal, party or pecuniary sacrifice.

I shall meet several members of Parliament at dinner at Sir H. Verney's, Bart., M.P., to-night. I wrote to you for the MS. of poor McGee's "Cyrus O'Neill, or Young Ireland in America." If I had

The Repeal Movement in England

it here I think it would take well and be of great service to his widow and children. The attempt upon the life of the Duke of Edinburgh has given increased interest to the subject here. I hope you will not give less than £500 a year to Mrs. McGee. It is the smallest sum that would do justice to his memory, and the best protection you can give to those who remain and whose duty to their country requires them to take the same loyal and patriotic stand which he did. Poor fellow, I received a letter from him, written on the 6th, just before the debate, and when he was evidently in great spirits. Will you kindly ask Messrs. Tilley, Anglin, Smith and Workman to write to Mr. Bright their experience of the ballot in the legislative elections of New Brunswick and the corporation of Montreal? I promised him that I would ask them to do so. He is preparing a great speech on the question and wishes information of its working. I hope to hear from you this evening.—Ever yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

DOWNING STREET,
May 9, 1868.

SIR,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government have assented to the adoption this year in the Dominion of Canada of a fee of two dollars a ton on licenses to vessels to fish in Canadian waters.

I am to add that Lord Monck will be informed by to-day's mail of this decision, and that the Governments of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland will be apprised that there will be no objection to their adopting the same amount of fee.

The Admiralty have been requested to authorise the Admiral on the station to instruct the officers under his command that henceforth one previous warning will be sufficient before seizing any vessel fishing in transgression of the law.—I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant,

ELLIOT.

DR. TUPPER, C.B.

OTTAWA,
April 30, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I duly received your letter of the 19th instant, and note its contents. Your report is on the whole very satisfactory, especially that part of it that relates to your communications with Howe.

You will have observed that that sneak Parker brought up the

The Repeal Movement in England

whenever the action of the Imperial Government frees him from his present engagements, which, as a man of honour, he cannot throw up. I am satisfied that the joint action of you and himself vigorously pursued will create an early reaction.

You will have been sorry to hear of the sudden death of Mr. Weir, of Halifax. This leaves a vacancy in the Senate which can be kept open for the present. I have received a note from McCully almost claiming as a right belonging to himself and Archibald, to nominate to the vacancy. . . .

With respect to the Intercolonial Railway we will be able to send home most satisfactory evidence that the vote of Four millions sterling will be amply sufficient. Pray press for a favourable answer in this matter. Should there, however, be danger of an adverse reply, get the Duke of Buckingham to keep the matter open until we shall have an opportunity of submitting further reasons on the subject. We have since your departure received a series of tenders from contractors of undoubted responsibility to construct and equip the whole road by the Robinson route, as well as by others, at sums far within the four millions.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THE HON. CHAS. TUPPER, C.B.

OTTAWA,

May 25, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Thanks for your letters, which are all satisfactory. On Friday last we prorogued Parliament after a very successful session. The tone of the Nova Scotians had very much altered for the better. They are well inclined to accept the inevitable, with the exception of Jones and E. M. Macdonald, who seem as bitter as ever. Archibald and Kenny both tell me that their letters indicate that the reaction has set in. It is said the alterations in the Tariff have had a very beneficial effect. Things will remain, however, as they are until the final answer is given by the Imperial Government and the cue is given by Howe. I hope that he and you may both return soon, and that we may be able to make satisfactory arrangements with him.

The only matter that went wrong during the whole session was a measure to reduce the salary of the Governor-General from £10,000 sterling to \$32,000. The Government opposed this with all their might, but there was a regular stampede of friends and foes in favour of the reduction, and no argument could avail. It unluckily so happened that the Governor's salary was the only point in the Union

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

Act that could well be objected to, and it was made a handle of at all the elections. Most of the young members have pledged themselves to vote for a reduction, and they carried out their pledges. There is a great cry for retrenchment just now, which originated principally in the Maritime Provinces. They were unaccustomed to our scale of salaries, and Canadian extravagance has been made a matter of daily discussion in the newspapers.

I was a good deal surprised to find that Lord Monck was very unpopular among the members of Parliament—why, I cannot say. I like him amazingly, and shall be very sorry when he leaves, as he has been a very prudent and efficient administrator of public affairs. . . . I think that Lord Monck feels the passage of the Bill a good deal, not that it is of any pecuniary consequence to him, but because the House refused to postpone the reduction during his incumbency, and made it commence from July 1. The Bill has, of course, been reserved for the Royal assent. . . . He will, however, I believe, advise the Duke of Buckingham to sanction the Bill, and it is with a view of preventing this that I write you on the subject.

I am satisfied that if the Duke writes a conciliatory despatch stating that while Her Majesty withholds the Royal assent, it is done with a feeling that Her representative should be selected from men high in rank, or political status, and a salary commensurate with the present position and great future of the Dominion is necessary to secure that object. If this despatch is sent out at once we will hear no more of it.¹ I presume that the present state of affairs gives the Duke but little time to attend to departmental matters.—In haste,
Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

We voted Mrs. McGee \$1,200 a year annuity and \$4,000 for each of her daughters. We would have asked for more, but found an increased annuity would have caused opposition. We desired to secure a unanimous vote, and could only do so by previous agreement as to the sum.

P.S.—I find that Lord Monck will not advise the acceptance of the Bill, as I thought, but simply state the case as it is.

¹ Lord Mayo had been appointed to succeed Lord Monck, but declined the appointment on the reduction of the salary. Sir John Young consented to take it for a limited period. The Royal assent was refused to the Bill and an Act passed fixing the salary at £10,000. Lord Mayo went as Governor-General of India, where he was assassinated.

The Repeal Movement in England

OTTAWA,

May 30, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I was disappointed at not hearing from you by last mail, but was consoled by seeing your note to Archibald. We are awaiting the promised despatch from the Duke accepting our Intercolonial Railway Bill. On its receipt we will then be in a position to ask him to approve of a Coast Line leaving, of course, the actual location to the survey of the engineer. . . . You do not say when you return. I presume you will not think it safe to leave Howe behind you. It is important on every account that you and he should both be on this side of the water as soon as possible. We shall not fill up the vacancy in the Senate, nor the Railway Commissionership, nor the Cabinet vacancy until your arrival. I purpose issuing a commission for consolidating the Statute Law ere long, and Archibald has kindly agreed to serve on it. He leaves in a day or two for Nova Scotia. We have passed the Civil List Act, by which we provided pensions for retiring judges after fifteen years' service on the Bench if they are then unable to continue their work efficiently. It is understood that there will be one vacancy at least on the Bench, and I propose to recommend Archibald for it. I shall still keep him in view for a seat in the Court of Appeal ultimately should I have the disposing of such matters. Rose will probably proceed to England in a week or two on matters financial, and especially to arrange with the Home Government as to the issue of the Guarantee Loan. All accounts seem to indicate a change for the better in the feeling in Nova Scotia, and with your assistance I hope to see it put all right before our Parliament meets again.

We are threatened with another Fenian invasion, and I am satisfied that we will have another raid before July 1, unless the American Government acts vigorously. The Fenians rely much upon the Presidential contest which is now beginning to rise to fever heat. As a body they have declared that they will vote with the party that gives them the most support. The Republicans won't trust them, however, I believe, and I have little doubt that the Irish vote will, as usual, be cast in the main for the Democratic candidate.

J. A. MACDONALD.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

June 20, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Your letters of May 25 and May 30 were duly received. The papers which go out by this mail will give you a full account of the debate on Bright's motion, and the result, 183

The Repeal Movement in England

OTTAWA,

July 4, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 20th, and hope this will meet you all safe and sound at Halifax. The debate on Bright's motion, and its results were all that could be wished. We could easily see that Adderley had been fully crammed by you, but his manner is so unfelicitous—you could have done it infinitely better yourself. I do not suppose that anything will come of Lord Stratheden's motion. I think it will be well that you should avoid letting anybody know that you had any communication with the Duke as to the question of the Governor's salary. That must be supposed to emanate solely from the Colonial Office and of its own mere motion. The knowledge that you had said anything on the matter would damage you in Canada, where the feeling on the question is very strong. As the Bill is to be disallowed, I hope Lord Mayo will come out.

I think it of great importance that you should come on to Ottawa at once and report the result of your mission, before taking any action with the view of influencing the public mind in Nova Scotia. A false step now might be irretrievable, and therefore, before taking any step whatever, we should consult together, and have united and concerted action. Pray, therefore, postpone the public meeting which you propose to call at Halifax until after your return from Ottawa, when you will be able to speak with more authority.

You suggest my writing a letter to Howe, which would reach him on his arrival at Halifax. We are, of course, very anxious to get the support and co-operation of Howe and his friends in carrying on Confederation—the only question is as to the best means of effecting it. It seems to me that if possible Howe should be induced to take the patriotic course of advising the people of Nova Scotia and particularly his friends, to accept the decision of the Imperial Government and go in heartily for Union—and that he should do this spontaneously, so that he could say, and the Canadian Government could say, that his action had not been preceded by any offers of advancement for himself or his friends of any kind. It would have a very good effect if he came out boldly and said that under the circumstances he would recommend the representatives of Nova Scotia in the General Parliament no longer to stand aloof, but to enter actively into the politics of the Dominion, and to endeavour to secure as much legitimate influence in the Government and Parliament of the Dominion as possible. And if he could be induced to go further and say that for himself, and as an earnest of his sincere desire to place Nova Scotia, under the present aspect of affairs, in its proper position, he would not

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

to Jesus, and implore mercy from God through Him. Do not allow even the most important things of time to induce you to neglect this. . . .

With sincere desires for your temporal and everlasting welfare,
Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. DR. TUPPER, C.B.

A letter from you would be highly prized by me.

With further regard to events which occurred in London, Sir Charles wrote :

"I was introduced to Mr. Bright in the tea-room of the House of Commons. He said to me : 'I suppose you know that I have promised Mr. Howe to move a resolution for a Royal Commission to inquire into the Canadian Confederation? But having told you that, I would be very glad to hear your side of the story.' I replied that I feared it was like locking the stable door after the horse was stolen, but that it would give me great pleasure to discuss the question with him. He invited me to go to his lodgings next morning at 11 o'clock. We spent two hours in earnest discussion. I said that under the British Parliamentary system of Government I had always understood that Parliament represented the people, and as the Imperial Act had been passed here under the authority of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, and subsequently approved by a similar vote, I could not understand how such action could now be questioned. Mr. Bright said : 'I do not mean for a moment to insinuate that such was the case in Nova Scotia, but I have seen very large majorities obtained in our House by very corrupt means.' I said I had been largely induced to advocate the union of the Provinces of British North America as the only means by which British institutions could be maintained in North America, as in our isolated and weak position I believed it was inevitable that at no distant day we should be absorbed by the great Republic on our borders.

'The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

cause as little injury as I can consistently with my resolution for a Royal Commission of Inquiry.'

"During the debate in the House of Commons on his resolution, June 16, Mr. Bright said: 'I may be told that Confederation was supported in the Nova Scotia Assembly by a large majority, but those who have had the pleasure of making Dr. Tupper's acquaintance know that he has a very persuasive tongue.' Mr. Bright's motion was defeated by 183 to 87.

"I met Mr. Bright some years afterwards at dinner at the Duke of Argyll's, when he said to me: 'I was very incredulous when you told me in 1868 that you expected Mr. Howe would become one of Sir John Macdonald's Ministers, but I found you were correct in your judgment, and I can assure you that no one has witnessed the realisation of your expectations with greater pleasure than myself.'

"Mr. Adderley requested me to sit in the gallery of the Commons during the debate, and the proof of his speech was sent to me there for correction, which was not an easy task. I furnished Edward Watkin, M.P., a brief for his speech, and another to Mr. Karslake, the Solicitor-General."

Of a visit to Ireland which occurred in June, Sir Charles wrote:

"Sir Michael Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, invited Mr. Sandford Fleming and me to visit him at Valentia. At Killarney I received the following telegram from him on June 8.

'KNIGHT OF KERRY

To HON. CHAS. TUPPER.

'Pray let me know by wire hour of your leaving Killarney and time the driver promises to have you at ferry where my boat shall meet you.'

"We received a very warm welcome. We met there Captain Brooker of H.M.S. *Wyvern*, a man-of-war in the harbour, and his wife, who was a Miss Tupper. Sir Richard Glass, then Chairman of the Cable Co., having

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

his remarks amounted to this—'Appoint a Royal Commission, let it decide. If that cannot be done, let a friendly conference be opened between the Dominion Government and the leading Antis in Nova Scotia, including the members of the local Government ; the Dominion Government to make some proposal for their consideration ; or, if that would be inconvenient, a friendly talk to see if some agreement cannot be arrived at.' . . . Now, you will observe that this means just this : 'we will abandon our opposition to Confederation, if some concessions are made.' The reasonable men want an excuse to enable them to hold back the violent and unreasonable of their own party, and this excuse ought to be given them. He told me that the delegates, the members of the local Government, and a few of their leading friends met yesterday, and had decided upon a call of the members of the general and local Parliaments for the 3rd of August, to decide what course they had better take. (The local Legislature meets on the 6th.) He said, if any advances were made, it was of the utmost importance that steps in that direction should be made previous to their meeting. He thought a visit from you, about that time, would do much good, and we all hope that you will see your way clear to come in this direction about the first of the month. They will do nothing until that meeting takes place. I cannot but think that a visit from you, accompanied, perhaps, by Cartier, would be productive of the most beneficial results. He did not indicate what changes they wanted, and I rather suspect that the nature of the concessions is of less importance to them, than the fact that concessions have been made.

"Our future may greatly depend upon the deliberations of the next few weeks. I cannot urge too strongly the importance of your visiting Halifax before the 3rd of August ; all here, who see and understand the state of affairs, agree with me upon this point. I am not an alarmist, but the position can only be understood by visiting Nova Scotia. There is no use in crying peace when there is no peace. We require wise and prudent action at this moment ; the most serious results may be produced by the opposite course."

Mr. A. G. Archibald wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald, on the same date, very much to the same effect :

"An hour's conference, he wrote, between you and Mr. Howe, and a mutual interchange of views, would do more to clear the atmosphere than anything else. It would give Howe immense power—if he has the inclination, as I believe he has—to control the storm he has raised."

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

out the pledge I gave him in London to give him a loyal and hearty support, but that I had hitherto felt that the first thing to be accomplished was to obtain all the aid he could from the anti-Union party, and that work I could not assist in. He is very cordial with me, and I think knows that he can rely on the fulfilment of my promise at any sacrifice. He may wish to accomplish his work without my aid, but I hope not, as he can only ultimately succeed by obtaining the zealous co-operation of the Union party with those whom he may be able to detach from the anti-Unionists. If matters are well managed, combined we will be able at a very early day to carry decided majorities for both the general and local Legislatures.

I think you ought formally to invite Mr. Howe and the other Anti members of Parliament, and as many members of the local Government as can attend, to go *immediately* to Ottawa to discuss with the Cabinet the position and interests of Nova Scotia. All the members of the local Government would, of course, decline, and Mr. Howe, McLelan and as many others as could be induced to go would have the responsibility necessarily thrown upon them. Mr. Howe ought then to address a letter to the public saying that he was going to meet your Government to negotiate terms for the Province and that he would be prepared on his return to state the terms and take the responsibility of advising their rejection or acceptance. Your Government should give him as broad a platform to stand upon as possible and enable him to return (after being sworn in as a member of the Cabinet) and throw himself upon his constituents. A bold course of this kind will carry all before it, while a hesitating policy will do much mischief, and give Howe's opponents a great advantage. At that crisis, if Howe approves, I will come forward and unite the Union party in his support, and he will either be carried in without a contest or with a triumphant majority. . . .

I have always thought it was a great mistake for the Dominion Government to hesitate about crediting the Government here with the cost of the new Customs House and Post Office, as the case is, I think, covered in the clearest manner by the express terms of the Act. Any way it is not desirable that Nova Scotia should be too much straitened while Ontario has a surplus million already to invest. In a word, do all you can to put us right, and carry Mr. Howe through with flying colours. You should, of course, advise with Howe as to the invitation to the locals, etc.

It is obviously every way better for Mr. Howe to go to Ottawa than for Mr. Rose to come here, as so much more can be done with you all together, and there would be the difficulty you suggest about

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

I have asked my friend Grant to send you the *British Colonist*, as I wish you to see the articles I am writing on the Union question. I enclose you a letter I received from King, who opposed Mr. Howe at the last election, from which you will see that it was necessary for my organ to give its cue to the Unionist party. Howe has not obtained nearly as much support as I expected from his own party, and one principal reason was the united opposition of the local Government and the doubt whether I would aid him in the hour of need. The knowledge that such will be the case will give him the support of the Unionists and many more of his own friends, who like to be on the safe side, and will thus be assured of his success. Further silence on the part of the *Colonist* would have demoralised the Union party, and given strength to a movement among certain of our friends who are looking more to their own position than to the immediate consolidation of the Union at any cost to individuals or parties. I have no doubt of Howe's success if he now goes boldly forward, but he must take the plunge soon if he wishes to succeed and not stand too long shivering on the brink. . . .

We were all here taken by surprise by the knighthood to the Chief Justice. He has given such a straightforward support to Confederation and my School Bill that I cannot regret it, but I do hope you will move Sir John Young to ask the same honour for Mr. Johnstone. You know his high character and attainments, and that for thirty years he was the first man at the bar of this Province, and the Legislature placed him at the head of the Equity Court with the same salary as the Chief Justice. His elevation would be hailed with great satisfaction throughout the Province. Do all you can to this end, and oblige,—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,

January 28, 1869.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 18th. . . . Howe and McLelan are still here, and we have come to a very satisfactory arrangement after a good deal of protocolling, which you will see in print by and by. We have made an arrangement on this basis.

We assume that the provisions in favour of New Brunswick in the Union Act are no more than fairly her due. We have calculated then that as New Brunswick came in with a debt of \$7,000,000 without interest, in proportion to population Nova Scotia should be allowed to come in at \$9,100,000, Canada currency.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

Howe wants to be the messenger of his own arrangements, so if this reaches you before he does, pray keep its contents to yourself, always, of course, excepting Archibald.—Believe me, Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir J. A. Macdonald wired Dr. Tupper January 30, 1869, that Howe had been sworn into office as a member of his Government that day, and Dr. Tupper replied as follows :

HALIFAX,

February 1, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I need not tell you how much gratification your telegram that Howe had been sworn in to the Council gave me. I have never feared that he would attempt to recede, but I have always felt that there was danger of the Antis joining the Opposition *en masse*. The news has created a good deal of excitement here, but if Howe plays his cards well, in thirty days we will be able to carry the country from end to end. I have no fear of his success in Hants, although the rabid ones threaten loudly to-day. . . . I send you the leader written for to-morrow's *Colonist*, in which I had to announce the fact of Howe's acceptance of office, and hope you will like the way I have dealt with it. It requires delicate handling from our standpoint, but I found a good many of our quasi friends inclined to do mischief, and felt it was necessary to take a decided stand in order to keep them right. . . .—With best wishes, I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

Howe was opposed with great virulence by his former friends, who were determined to prevent his re-election in Hants. Mr. Alfred Jones led the opposition. Howe was struck down by a severe attack of inflammation of the bowels. Dr. Tupper issued a circular letter to the Unionists of the county appealing for assistance on Howe's behalf.¹

Sir Charles says in his journal :

"Hearing Howe was completely broken down and very despondent, I went to Windsor a day or two before the contest to see him. I was greatly shocked at his appearance. I told him I was confident he would be elected, but

¹ This letter appeared in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

cult labours or bearing its heavy responsibilities; but in view of the part he had taken in Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald was too wise a statesman not to avail himself of the advantages of his counsels.

An Act was passed for building the Intercolonial Railway, which was completed in 1876, under the supervision of Sandford Fleming as Chief Government Engineer. The four Provinces were thus linked together by this highway of transportation.

Sir George E. Cartier and the Hon. William McDougall, Canadian delegates, were sent to England to negotiate a bargain with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transfer of their vast territories to the Dominion. On her part, Canada agreed to pay £300,000 sterling and to reserve certain parts of the Dominion for the Company. In 1869 the bargain came before Parliament, and was confirmed by a vote of 121 to 15. Nine French members and A. J. Smith, from New Brunswick, voted in the minority on the ground that it was "likely to involve this Dominion in a heavy expense without any prospect of adequate remuneration." It is no matter of wonder that Conservative minds should shrink from such huge ventures, as did the fifteen who, led by Sir Albert Smith, voted against the Hudson's Bay bargain. It is at a time like this that men of vision are needed, such as the new Dominion then had in Charles Tupper and John A. Macdonald.

After the close of the session of 1869, surveyors were appointed and sent out under Colonel Dennis to survey townships in Assiniboia. In the autumn William McDougall was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor.

The matter of the Governor-General's salary came up again in the session of 1869. It was then fixed at £10,000 sterling. A motion was made for reciprocity in manufactured goods, as well as natural products, with the United States, and was defeated by a large majority. Dr. Tupper, seeing the National Policy possible in the

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

2. The people could not be consulted by Canada because, until this was arranged, they were under another Government. The Hudson's Bay Company even complained to the British Government because Canada sent \$20,000 to be expended in opening a road to the country where the people were starving.

3. A reference to the Act will show that it was only intended for the formation of a "temporary" Government, that it expires at the end of the next session of Parliament, and was the only way in which a Government could be organised in the first instance. The law provided that the Government should be appointed by the Queen's representatives in the same way as in all the Provinces of the Dominion, and that all laws and ordinances should be not only approved by the Privy Council but also submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

4. But three members of the Council were nominated from Canada out of a Council of from seven to fifteen, and all the other members were to be filled up from residents in the country enjoying the confidence of the people.

It was intended to establish representative institutions and place the territory in the same position as the other Provinces at the earliest moment that it was prepared for the change and desired it.

5. Canada has an enrolled militia of 650,000 men capable of bearing arms, and 40,000 men regularly trained to arms every year. The course of the United States in reference to Cuba shows that it would be hopeless to expect any aid from that Government, even should the people wish to substitute republican institutions for the authority of the Queen's rule over every part of the Dominion as much as over the people of England. The whole power of England, as well as of Canada, will be used to prevent one foot of the British possessions on this continent being wrested from the Queen by any foreign power.

In Canada the tariff is 15 per cent.

Dr. Tupper as President of the Council

In the United States it averages nearly 60 per cent.

Under Confederation, each Province gets back from the Federal Government money enough to pay the Governor, the local Government, the Legislature, and a large amount for the local expenses of the Province.

In the United States the Federal Government contributes nothing to these expenses, which are all borne by direct taxation.

Under Confederation, each Province has the control of the public lands and all monies arising from the sale of Crown lands, mines and minerals, etc. In the United States the Federal Government takes all the money obtained by the sale of public lands. A Minute of Council has been passed by the Canadian Government declaring that during the next two years the duties in the North-West Territories shall not exceed those now imposed.

As the result of the discussion with Father Richot, Colonel DeSalaberry and Grand Vicar Thibault were at once received, and shortly afterwards a deputation consisting of Father Richot and Mr. Scott was sent by Riel to Ottawa to negotiate, as Dr. Tupper had advised, and the back of the insurrection was broken.

In connection with this adventure, the following letter from the late Sir Sandford Fleming is of interest :

OTTAWA,

March 7, 1910.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—It is a great satisfaction to me to receive to-day your kind letter of February 23. I have a very distinct recollection of your trip to Fort Garry in 1869. In any account of the early history of the North West, it should never be forgotten, that, by taking your life in your hand on that occasion, you inaugurated the breaking up of the insurrection.

Your invitation to visit you, should I again cross the ocean, is very gratifying to me. Meanwhile it is a genuine pleasure to hear from you and learn that Lady Tupper holds her own. . . .

With the kindest regards to Lady Tupper, Believe me always,
Yours most faithfully,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

At the opening of the session of 1870, after Sir A. T. Galt, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. McDougall, Mr. Masson, of Terrebonne, and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, all former supporters of the Government, had attacked Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper followed Mr. Alexander Mackenzie with a speech in defence of the Government (of which he was not then a member), which is noteworthy, as it contains the first suggestion of a National Policy in the Dominion Parliament.

The following are some of its most important points :

" Nothing had ever reflected greater honour upon the leading public men of both the great parties, who had so long and so fiercely struggled with each other, than the fact that in the presence of a great necessity, they had forgotten what was due to party, in order that they might accomplish an important measure indispensable to the progress, prosperity, and security of their common country. . . . He was persuaded that the great Reform party, who had sacrificed so much at the shrine of patriotism since the inception of the measure, would not recede from the position they had assumed when they declared, in the face of the people, that they would forget for a time the duty they owed to party, and combine with those with whom throughout their political career they had been placed in a position of the strongest antagonism. . . . The House would not forget how, in the struggle for party ascendancy, denomination had been arrayed against denomination, nationality against nationality, section against section, until the credit of Canada was dragged down to the lowest ebb, and the credit of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also imperilled, and, indeed, materially affected by the same causes. . . . From the very first hour the Government came into power, they had steadily kept in view the patriotic object which they had pledged themselves to accomplish. He had listened with the deepest attention to the criticism of gentlemen who had been former supporters of the Government as well as those who were their persistent opponents. They had pronounced the efforts of coalition to advance the great measure of Confederation entirely ineffective. He defied those honourable gentlemen to show in what respects there had been a failure. He would like them to point to the pages of history and show where as much had been done in as short a time in the case of any similar measure of national importance. That measure had consolidated four millions of people who had been previously separated in different

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

write, how you are in health, and with best wishes for your health and success.—Believe me to be, Yours most faithfully,

(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

The following private telegrams from Dr. Tupper to Sir John at this date indicate the bold policy advocated by the former :

Neither Government nor people of Canada will ever consent to concede fishing privilege for even term of years for money consideration, and such a sale, even though period limited, would be regarded by the Canadian people as equivalent to parting with a portion of the territory of the Dominion.

Yourself alone. Message herewith that you suggested. But how much money could we get in addition say to coasting trade, free fish, coal, lumber, and salt ?

In the light of all the negotiations between Canada and Great Britain since that day, who would venture to assert that the bolder course indicated in Dr. Tupper's letter to Sir John would not have been the better one and equally as safe as the modified policy which was adopted ?

Lord Kimberley's reply to the Minute of Council of the Dominion Government, which was to the effect that the English Government never had had any intention of selling the fishery rights of Canada without the consent of the Dominion Parliament, reached Sir John at Washington in time for him to write to Dr. Tupper on the 17th as follows :

" It was a most fortunate thought to send a cablegram to Lord Kimberley, as, in my expression of disinclination to enter upon the question of sale or lease of the fisheries, communication was had with Lord Granville (Secretary for Foreign Affairs), who authorised the Commission to discuss the question of sale, at the same time expressing a preference for sale in perpetuity. Upon this, I produced Lord Kimberley's answer, which was a floorer. Lord de Grey is now, doubtless, communicating with Lord Granville, as to the apparent discrepancy between his statement and that of Lord Kimberley."

It will be seen from the following private telegram to Sir John on March 22, that Dr. Tupper, on the assumption

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

"That subsequently an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P.—that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the elections of the Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing general election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the railway ;

"That accordingly Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing insistences of Ministers ;

"That part of the moneys expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with the obtaining of the Act of incorporation and charter was paid by him to the said United States capitalists under the agreement with him. It is

"Ordered, that a committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the Pacific Railway, with the legislation of last session on the subject, and with the granting of the charter to Sir Hugh Allan and others ; with power to send for persons, papers and records ; and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before, and all proceedings of, said Committee."

Sir John A. Macdonald called for a vote which, when taken, defended him by 107 yeas to 76 nays.

On April 8, Sir John moved for a select committee to be appointed by the House, of which the mover was not to be one, to report on the several matters contained in Mr. Huntington's resolution, with power to send for persons and papers and report to the House. The committee appointed consisted of the Hon. J. G. Blanchet, the Hon. Edward Blake, the Hon. A. A. Dorion, the Hon. J. Cameron and the Hon. James Macdonald. The committee reported, asking authority to examine witnesses on oath. This was granted them, and they were authorised to hold meetings during the adjournment of the House whenever it was convenient.

A Bill was passed authorising the examination of witnesses under oath. A majority of the select committee reported to the House that their work could not be properly carried on in the absence in England of Sir George E.

Defeat of the Conservatives

Cartier and Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, two members of the House; and recommended that the committee should adjourn until July 2. This was, on motion, carried by a majority of thirty-one.

Doubt having been expressed respecting the authority of Parliament to pass an Act to enable the committee to administer the oath to witnesses, the assent to the Bill for that purpose was reserved by the Governor-General, who promptly sent it to the Imperial Government for instructions respecting the constitutionality of the action of Parliament in the matter.

During this session an Act was passed preventing dual representation, similar to the Act passed by Dr. Tupper in the Nova Scotia Legislature before the Confederation Act came into operation. On April 8, Dr. Tupper, who had resigned the office of Minister of Inland Revenue and had been appointed Minister of Customs, on February 3 moved a resolution which was seconded by Mr. Tilley :

“That this House do immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider certain proposed resolutions relative to Customs duties in the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including Rupert's Land.”

He introduced also, when Minister of Inland Revenue, the following resolution, which became law and remains until the present day :

“That it is expedient to amend and consolidate the laws of the Dominion respecting weights and measures, and to establish a uniform system thereof for all Canada, except only as to special measures used for certain purposes in the Province of Quebec ; and to provide for the inspection of weights and measures with power to the Governor in Council to make a tariff of fees for such inspection, sufficient to defray the expenses of carrying it into effect.”

Before the benefits of this enactment were made evident in its operation it was exceedingly unpopular, but time has proved its great usefulness.

An Act was passed admitting Prince Edward Island

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

Huntington in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers have merited the severe censure of this House."

Dr. Tupper, at the request of Sir J. A. Macdonald, replied to Mr. Mackenzie's speech.

During the heat of the conflict on the Huntington Charges, an incident occurred which illustrates the calmness, the foresight, courage and fidelity to principle of Dr. Tupper. Of this event, Sir Charles Tupper wrote:

"During the progress of the debate on the Huntington Charges, which lasted many days, Sir J. A. Macdonald told me that Lord Dufferin had requested him to resign, and that he had called a meeting of the Council for the next morning for the purpose of tendering our resignations. I called upon Lord Dufferin, who said: 'I suppose, Doctor, Sir John has told you what I have said to him?' and was answered in the affirmative. Lord Dufferin said: 'Well, what do you think about it?' I said: 'I think your lordship has made the mistake of your life. To-day you enjoy the confidence of all parties as the Representative of the Queen. To-morrow you will be denounced as the head of a party by the Conservative Press all over Canada for having intervened during a discussion in Parliament and thrown your weight against your Government. Nor will you be able to point to any precedent for such action under British Parliamentary practice.'

"Lord Dufferin said: 'What would you advise?' I replied: 'That you should at once cable the position to the Colonial Office and ask advice.' That was done. Lord Dufferin sent for Sir John Macdonald at two o'clock that night, and withdrew his demand for the resignation of the Government."

It having, however, become apparent that the Government could not retain the support of a sufficient number to warrant their continuing in power, Sir John Macdonald

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

matory platform deliverances of George Brown, the stubborn honesty of Alexander Mackenzie, and the judicial, solemn rhetoric of Edward Blake were turned upon the Government in the Huntington campaign. This powerful current of adverse criticism added vehemence to partisanship and local prejudices. The national sympathy and political sentiments of the Dominion had not at this stage been unified. Canadian citizenship was still provincial, its views narrow and local. The great Province of Ontario was no exception to the rule. The union with Quebec for more than a quarter of a century left these two colonies no less provincial than at the day of their union. For that period Canada, made up of these two Western Provinces, was an empty word. An Ontario man felt himself more at home in New York than in Quebec, and a Frenchman from the latter province was even more a stranger in Ontario, while a citizen of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island would feel himself among friends in Boston and an alien in Montreal or Toronto. This lack of general national sympathy in the hearts of a large proportion of the people of Nova Scotia had been increased by an intense antipathy to Canada through the anti-Confederate campaign.

In the period of transition from Provinces to a Dominion, leaders and people were all prophets, the minority of evil, but the great majority of good. Many extravagant things were uttered by both classes of political seers. While no one was more assured of a grand future than Dr. Tupper, no man among all the politicians of that day equalled him in heroic, tireless efforts to bring about his predictions—no one was his equal in going hither and thither over the Dominion, and everywhere rising above local prejudices, making the audiences, which were held spellbound by his assured declarations, feel that the Hon. Charles Tupper belonged to no province but was a citizen of Canada who felt the loyal pride of this new citizenship. This spirit

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

The court trials and other revelations supplied him with facts in this direction. He knew that partisan zeal was the centre and soul of the inspiration which carried the Liberals to victory. There was in their campaign "a furious earnestness," impossible for an impartial discussion of principles and policies, by which political parties are divided. His knowledge of political history of the West and the men who had faced each other through violent conflicts all the way from the days of Lyon MacKenzie and Papineau until the time when John A. Macdonald and others fought over double majorities and deadlocks, enabled him to trace the spirit manifest in the vehemence of the Liberal victory to its remote sources. He knew that local issues, old and young, would be swallowed up and disappear in a sound, national Canadian sentiment, which had as yet appeared only in the germ. He did not have to wait long for the reaction. As far as political purity and integrity were concerned, the public soon reversed its opinion, formed in a whirlwind of agitation, that the Liberal party and its leaders possessed a monopoly of political virtues. As soon as the people were seized with this belief, the new Government was put on trial, not before a jury blinded by a partisan spirit, but before one less prejudiced and not deaf to fact and reason. In the Conservative party, courage which had vanished with defeat now began to rise with the dawn of success. Until this stage in the campaign of 1873 to 1878 was reached, hope and assurance were with Dr. Tupper. No one saw this more clearly, or more heartily admitted it, than did his fallen leader.

After the defeat of the Conservative Government, both Sir John A. Macdonald and Dr. Tupper returned to the practice of their respective professions. The former, that he might have a larger field, took up his residence in Toronto; the latter practised his profession in the city of Ottawa in winter, and in St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in summer.

Defeat of the Conservatives

The new Parliament opened on March 26, 1874. At the urgent request of Sir John A Macdonald, Dr. Tupper accepted the duties of critic of Mr. Cartwright, Finance Minister, and Alexander Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works. The Speech from the Throne said :

"The Canal and Harbour improvements are being vigorously prosecuted, with a view to ensure adequate accommodation for the rapidly growing trade of the country. . . . I regret to state that the receipts of the current year will not be sufficient to the expenditure. It will, therefore, be necessary for you to consider the best means to be adopted for making good the deficiency."

In this speech there were two admissions which Dr. Tupper did not fail to see and use to good effect. First, that the policy of the late Government in deepening the canals was accepted by the new administration as wise and in the best interests of the country; and second, that the trade of the country was rapidly increasing. Dr. Tupper, however, challenged the statement that the "receipts of the current year will not be sufficient to meet the expenditure." He denounced it as absolutely untrue, and that the Finance Minister could sustain it only by charging half a million dollars, voted and expended on capital account, to the consolidated revenue account.

As the Conservative Government was defeated in 1873, the supervision and the carrying into effect of the Washington Treaty, so far as the Canadian fisheries were concerned, was left to Mr. Mackenzie's Government.

In 1874 the Dominion Government sent George Brown to negotiate a Reciprocity Treaty, in conjunction with the English Ambassador at Washington, with a view to having such a treaty supersede the Washington Treaty so far as it related to the fisheries of the Dominion. Mr. Brown and the English Ambassador and the United States Agent succeeded in agreeing upon a Reciprocity Treaty which caused much dissatisfaction in Canada, but before Parliament met it was rejected by the Senate of the United

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

States. Before its rejection by the Senate, Dr. Tupper received a letter from Toronto requesting him to speak at a meeting called to oppose the Brown-Thornton Treaty. He sent it to Sir John, and received the following reply :

R. DU LOUP,

August 24, 1874.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 17th, and return Macdonnell's letter. I would go, were I you, to Toronto, if you can manage it. They are pressing me to go up, but I scarcely feel up to it. My fighting days are over, I think. My reason for saying that I think the leaders of the Opposition should not say too much *now* against the treaty is that it is of great consequence that the treaty should be condemned on its own merits or rather demerits by the country. The Boards of Trade and the industrial meetings have, without reference to politics, gone against it. Some of the leading Grit papers in Ontario are opposed to it. It is causing a decided split in the Grit ranks. The only thing that will heal that split is any attempt of the Opposition leaders to make political capital out of it. I think political pressure will give Mackenzie a majority with Commons, but I hope a small one. Our aim is to divide the Commons so equally as to embolden the Senate to throw out the treaty—and then dare the Government to dissolve on the question. I agree with you that adoption of the treaty will go far to secure annexation. This is so much to be deprecated and the defeat of the treaty so essential, that it is well worth the Opposition saying patriotically that the defeat of the treaty shall not be pressed by them (the Opposition) as a defeat of the Ministry. The Blake section would then probably be induced to vote against the treaty and thus kill Brown without killing the Government.

The Opposition would gain greatly by their patriotic course, and would prove the sincerity of what I said on behalf of the party that our motto was country first, party afterward. This sown upon the waters would come back to us, and not, I think, after *many* days. —Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THE HON. C. TUPPER.

The Brown-Thornton Treaty included both natural and manufactured products. It became public before it reached the United States Senate, when, like other treaties, it was condemned. Before its defeat, as seen in the foregoing

Defeat of the Conservatives

letter from Sir John A. Macdonald, it was a matter of lively discussion among both political parties in Canada. The purpose of the Mackenzie Government in sending George Brown to Washington to negotiate a treaty was, in obtaining a treaty, to supersede the necessity of a session of the arbitrators appointed in connection with the Washington Treaty to fix the amount of the Dominion's claims for privileges granted the United States for fishing in Canadian waters. But as this attempt at making a new treaty proved abortive, the arrangement made by Sir John A. Macdonald, and sanctioned by the Dominion Parliament, continued in force. The award for the fishery claim was settled at Halifax in 1877.

UN

CHAPTER XV

DR. TUPPER AS BUDGET CRITIC AND LEADER (1874—77)

IT now became the duty of Mr. Mackenzie to deal with the embarrassing question which had given the late Government so much trouble: What was to be done with Louis Riel? He had been elected a member for Provincher, and signed his name to the roll of members of the House. A warrant was issued for his arrest, but he could not be found. As he did not respond to the call of the Speaker on motion, he was expelled from the House by a vote of 124 to 68. After his expulsion, Riel was unanimously re-elected to represent the same constituency; but he was again expelled from the House. Having embarrassed both Governments, his case was before the House on February 11, 1875, when Mr. Mackenzie moved a resolution providing for an amnesty for all persons involved in the North-West Rebellion, except Riel and Lépine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominion. This was carried by a majority of 76, Dr. Tupper voting in the minority.

The Government brought in a Bill for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was passed. No such courage appeared in this scheme as was exhibited in the project of the late Government, which aimed at connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific by a road which was to have been undertaken as a whole by a company. The project of Mr. Mackenzie's Government was for the Government to construct the road, piece by piece, according to the ability of the country, in their judgment, to bear the expense. The great lakes and the rivers in the West were to be used in the

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

were: that the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo should be commenced and completed with all practical dispatch; that the surveys on the mainland should be pushed on with the utmost vigour; that the wagon road and the telegraph line should be immediately constructed; that \$2,000,000 a year, and not \$1,500,000—the amount proposed by the Government—should be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province of British Columbia, and that on or before December 31, 1890, the railway should be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point on the western shore of Lake Superior.

Dr. Tupper challenged the correctness of the Minister's reference to both income and expenditure. He had taken liberties with the accounts never taken before. Mr. Cartwright had given the receipts of 1873-4 as \$24,205,092.54, the expenditure as \$23,316,316.75, showing a surplus of \$888,775.79. "I am going," said Dr. Tupper, "to correct these statements. By a careful regard to expenditures on capital account, it would be seen that the Minister of Finance was largely astray in his zeal to place the onus of increased taxation on his predecessor by making a false representation, and therefore creating a deficit in 1873-74. Over \$500,000, according to Mr. Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works, are improperly placed to revenue."

Dr. Tupper pointed out also that in the statement of the Minister of Finance in the previous year there was a deficit of one and a quarter millions due to railways, and that this statement had been used in London to the disadvantage of the Dominion in negotiating a loan. Dr. Tupper showed that instead of a loss of one and a quarter millions upon the railways, it amounted only to \$408,119, and of this amount \$275,719 were due, not to ordinary but to extraordinary expenses.

"How would the Grand Trunk officials," inquired Dr. Tupper, "like the £2,000,000 sterling expended in the purchase and laying down of

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

moment put half a million dollars in his pocket without the possibility of this House or the country bringing him to an account. . . . I have the most unbounded confidence in the integrity of the hon. Minister of Finance, but it is not with him I am dealing, but with the principles which he has established for the first time."

The foregoing is sufficient to illustrate the thorough, exhaustive and destructive criticism of Dr. Tupper in dealing with Mr. Cartwright's Budget. His examination of this department soon convinced Mr. Cartwright and both sides of the House that the finances of the country could not escape a most searching investigation, and that unwisdom in its management was destined to exposure and condemnation.

The Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, also Minister of Public Works, fared no better at the hands of Dr. Tupper than did the Minister of Finance. The party which defeated the Conservative plan for constructing the great highway across the Continent had on its hands the responsibility of accomplishing the same undertaking by a policy devised by themselves. It was found, however, that the onus of doing the work was but a part of the responsibility which they had assumed. The country must be convinced that their policy was in every way superior to that of their predecessors—that, in fact, in this greatest public work the Liberal statesmen were abler and wiser than the leaders of the defeated party. On this question, Dr. Tupper, after a sharp and damaging criticism of Mr. Cartwright's Budget in 1875, attacked the policy and the doings of the Government through the Minister of Public Works. Dr. Tupper declared his utmost confidence in the patriotism and honesty of both Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Mackenzie, but with vehement plainness of speech, aided by his extraordinary memory, he instituted contrasts between the plan of the Opposition, when in power, and that of the Government. He charged Mr. Mackenzie with blundering when he purchased 50,000 tons of steel rails

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

manifest that the political leaders in Halifax had not misjudged the signs of the times. When Dr. Tupper appeared, borne above the heads of the crowd on his way to the platform, the tumultuous shouts made it plain that all that was required of him was to analyse and point out the failures of the Government, and indicate remedies for the weakness and political blundering of the Cabinet.

The speech of that evening, in its confident tone, its trenchant criticism, its heroic remedies and its prediction of the early return to power of the Liberal-Conservative party, gave the key-note to the campaign which ended in the general election of 1878, and which from that evening at Temperance Hall, like a coming storm, gathered fullness and force until the telegraph flashed the victory of the general election over the wires from ocean to ocean. That speech, fully reported and carried by the Press to all parts of the Dominion, was the harbinger of the overthrow of the Mackenzie Government. In every meeting addressed by Dr. Tupper from that date, and they were many, until the day before the election, his chief work was to proclaim the weakness and unwisdom of the Government and promise the people prosperity by a change of policy. Evoked by his masterly power of popular speech, the vent given to public sentiment, growing stronger and stronger as the months and years passed, supplied Dr. Tupper with such inspiration as few orators have ever felt. It was like that which thrilled Mr. Gladstone in his first Midlothian Campaign in 1880.

Parliament met on February 10, 1876. In attacking the Budget Speech, Dr. Tupper boldly charged Mr. Cartwright with unpardonable blundering in his financial statements by which he had attempted to prove that there was a large deficit in 1873-4, the last year of the late Government. Mr. Cartwright asked for additional taxes to meet this deficit. In previous years Dr. Tupper had exposed the errors and fallacies of the Minister of Finance in his endeavours to

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

on March 10 in favour of protection of manufactures and industries, including agricultural products. Of this motion, Dr. Tupper said :

"An hon. gentleman had complained this resolution was too comprehensive, but that was just the policy Canada required—a broad, comprehensive national policy, that without looking to any particular part of the country would promote the prosperity of the whole Dominion. He did not believe any man in this House had the moral courage to stand up and deny the soundness of the principle contained in this resolution. Was there an intelligent man in this country who would not, if he could, so reconstruct the tariff as to alleviate a stagnation of business which was deplored in the Speech from the Throne? It must have been a severe depression which would cause the Government to make such an allusion to it, and the only ground on which it could be justified was that they were prepared to ask Parliament to adopt measures for its removal. Was there a man who would deny it was the duty of the Government, if they could, to afford fitting encouragement to our struggling industries? If there was he would like to see him. He (Dr. Tupper) saw no reason why the free-traders in this House should not join with the protectionists in supporting this resolution, and find some means of dealing with this difficulty in a statesmanlike and practical manner."

Mr. Mackenzie introduced a Bill for the Nanaimo Railway on Vancouver Island, to carry out the Carnarvon Terms. It was supported by Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper, until Mr. Mackenzie refused to have work let by contract. Mr. Blake voted against it, and it was defeated in the Senate by two Government supporters.

Lord Dufferin visited British Columbia during the summer of 1876, and made strong speeches in favour of Mr. Mackenzie. He refused to drive under an arch which bore the words, "The Carnarvon Terms or Separation." He required a change of one letter only, "R" for "S."

On his return to Toronto, Lord Dufferin sent for Dr. Tupper, and the following is an account of this interview contained in Dr. Tupper's journal :

"Lord Dufferin said : 'I suppose you have been watching my actions in British Columbia, and I hope you approve.'"

Dr. Tupper as Budget Critic and Leader

I replied : ' No, my lord, I think you went too far in support of Mr. Mackenzie ; but I admit the case was urgent, and will not bring it under notice more than I am compelled to.' "

The journal continues : " In June, 1876, my son, C. H. Tupper, who was preparing for his examinations for B.C.L. at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., in good-humoured tussle with a fellow-student, had his leg broken just above the ankle. Dr. ——— set the fracture, and secured his examination in his room by threatening to send him to the Hall on a stretcher when in great pain. He passed successfully. I went at once to Cambridge.

" My friend, T. N. Gibbs, who had been defeated at the general election of 1874, but unseated his opponent, wired me that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie and Hon. Mr. Huntington were coming into the riding to speak, and begged me to come to his assistance. I had my son's leg put in a plaster cast, carried him in my arms on board the steamer, and leaving him with a friend to see him home, hastened to South Ontario, met Messrs. Mackenzie and Huntington in battle array, and Mr. T. N. Gibbs was elected."

Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper attended a picnic at Uxbridge in North Ontario, where the Liberal member had been unseated and Mr. W. H. Gibbs, the Conservative candidate, was shortly afterwards elected.

Dr. Tupper says in his journal that his family was spending the summer at his farm, " Highland Hill," St. Andrews, N.B.

On July 27 Dr. Tupper was invited to attend the funeral of his great friend and supporter, the late Archbishop Connolly, of Halifax, and left St. Andrews for that purpose. On his way home after the funeral he went to Kingston, in the Annapolis Valley, to see his father. There he received a telegram saying that his son's wife had a daughter, and was very ill. He returned to St. Andrews to find that she had been prematurely confined and that her case was hopeless. She died on the third day. Her father and

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

held, as to call on their supporters to vote down what was a plain palpable and a literal fact, which every man who saw could read and which every intelligent man in the House or out of it was capable of grasping at a glance. It was inexpedient and improper, unless Parliament of Canada was to become a by-word in the mouths of people of the country, that while the law stood on the Statute-book the Public Exchequer should be used for the purposes of pouring money out of its coffers into the pockets of members of the Parliament of Canada. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie) said they stopped it as soon as they knew of it. And why did they stop it? Was it because it was wrong? If so, the very fact that they did stop it and gave to the House the reasons they had for doing so, would count in vindication of the Parliament and the honour of the House of Commons of Canada, to vote themselves with the mover of the resolution, declaring that this act was improper and inexpedient. If it was proper and expedient, why did they take the patronage which had bestowed, and the money they had paid, from a member of the House? It was because they found it was not proper and not expedient, and because they found that, having violated the law, they were compelled to adopt that course. . . ."

On April 21 Dr. Tupper made an important speech on the Canadian Pacific Railway which occupied four hours to deliver, and which is fully reported in "Hansard." The effort was a great one—one of the greatest, indeed ever made by the speaker—and the policy of the Government was most mercilessly dealt with. The speech ended thus :

"The whole policy of the Government, as propounded by the gentleman, has been utterly delusive, and to-day we find ourselves not a step out any advance, without anything accomplished, but minus a large sum of money which has been paid to parties, who, contrary to law, have been entrusted to carry out contracts. I am sorry that I have been obliged to trespass on the indulgence of the House so long, but I think I have adduced sufficient evidence to support the motion which I now have the honour to move. I have endeavoured, and I think the hon. the Minister will agree with me in the statement, to avoid every question that could raise an unpleasant topic of discussion between the occupants of the Treasury Benches and ourselves. Notwithstanding the great temptation that was presented as I proceeded in this discussion, I

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

seats and appeal again to their constituencies. This gave a much desired opportunity to test the sentiments of Digby and Halifax counties. Dr. Tupper saw his chance and left for Halifax, where a meeting was called at an hour's notice for January 9, 1878. At 8.30 p.m. Dr. Tupper ascended the platform, and for an hour and a half addressed an enthusiastic audience. He proceeded the next day to Digby, where he met and defeated the Minister of Militia, Mr. Wade, the Conservative candidate, being elected in his place.

On Saturday, January 19, 1878, a great meeting took place in the drill-shed at Halifax which ended at midnight. Mr. Jones, who was virtually a defeated man, took an express train to Ottawa and was sworn in as Minister of Militia in place of Mr. Vail, defeated at Digby. His former majority of 1,247 was reduced to 228.

Parliament was called to meet on February 7, 1878.

Dr. Tupper says in his journal: "The day before, I called to pay my respects to the Governor-General. He asked me what I thought would be the result. I replied: 'Your Lordship's administration will be routed, horse, foot and artillery.' 'Why do you think so?' he replied. 'Because they obtained their majority by springing an election when the issue before the country was not understood, and in the numerous elections that have been held since they have been badly beaten all over Canada.'"

After Dr. Tupper left Government House, Mr. Mackenzie called on Lord Dufferin, who told him what Dr. Tupper had said. Mr. Mackenzie replied: "The doctor is a very sanguine man, and I have no doubt thinks so; but he is mistaken. We will, no doubt, lose some of our support, but our majority is still too large to be turned."

In 1877, after a long and thorough discussion of the trade policy, in which protection to home industries was advocated in the House by many able speeches, notably

Conservatives Again in Power

those of Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper, the Free Trade Government was sustained in its contention by a vote of 119 to 70. The discussion was continued in the Press and on the platform with unabated interest until the reassembling of Parliament in 1878, when the fact that this was the last session before a dissolution and an appeal to the people gave zest, sharpness and power to the resumed debate.

On February 22 the Minister of Finance made his Budget Speech, and Dr. Tupper replied.

Sir John Macdonald proposed, seconded by Dr. Tupper :

“That it be resolved that this House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion—that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home ; will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly depressed—will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market, will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade, and by moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade.”

This was defeated by 114 to 77.

Mr. Mackenzie had introduced a Bill to authorise the Government to have the Branch Railway subject only to the House of Commons. The Senate amended the Bill by providing that the approval of the Senate should also be required. Mr. Mackenzie refused the amendment and pronounced the action of the Senate unconstitutional. Dr. Tupper sustained the action of the Senate, and said a precedent such as the First Minister demanded would enable the Government with a small majority to hand over to the Grand Trunk Railway the Intercolonial or the Canadian Pacific Railway without the assent of the Senate.

The intention of the Bill was to enable the Government

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

to lease the Pembina Railway to the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, in which the member for Selkirk was deeply interested.

While the members were waiting for the summons of the Black Rod for the prorogation of the House, Mr. Smith raised the question of privilege, and defended himself against Sir John Macdonald's statement that the Pembina Bill was to reward him for his support of the Government. Mr. Smith then went on to attack Dr. Tupper for a speech he made at Orangeville during the previous summer. Dr. Tupper said :

" I rise to a question of order. I put it to you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is not an abuse of the right to read from a newspaper, for the hon. gentleman has had that speech here during the three months we have been in session, and to speak at the moment when the Black Rod is coming to the door, and thus to shelter himself from the answer he would otherwise get."

SIR JOHN MACDONALD—" And the punishment he would otherwise get."

MR. SMITH—" I had no such opportunity."

DR. TUPPER—" A more cowardly thing I have never heard of in this House."

MR. SMITH—" I am not surprised at this from the hon. gentleman."

DR. TUPPER—" Anything more cowardly I have never heard of. I am responsible for every word I have uttered on the platform. I have sat here for three months and no reference has been made to this by the hon. gentleman. Nor has any other hon. gentleman ventured to challenge one word I had said during the recess of Parliament."

MR. SMITH—" The charge of being a coward I throw back on the hon. gentleman."

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD—" Let the poor man go on."

MR. SMITH—" The hon. member for Cumberland said——"

The uproar continued until the Black Rod was admitted by order of the Speaker, and so ended the memorable session of 1878.

Sir John Macdonald wrote to Dr. Tupper as follows :

Conservatives Again in Power

TORONTO,

May 13, 1878.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Do try and go to London on Wednesday. There is a mass meeting to choose a candidate at seven in the evening. A rattling speech from you would do infinite good, not only in London, but in Middlesex and Elgin. You can leave in the morning, be comfortably bestowed on Wednesday night and leave next day when you like.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On May 21, Dr. Tupper spoke in favour of Rufus Stephenson at his nomination at Chatham, and went to London that night, where on the 22nd he addressed a large meeting in favour of the Hon. John Carling, in whose favour Mr. Fraser had retired.

On July 17, 1878, Dr. Tupper made a memorable speech at Sydney, Cape Breton, and the opposition to the Government, manifest in Nova Scotia at the time of Dr. Tupper's speech in Temperance Hall, and in the defeat of Mr. Vail and the virtual defeat of Mr. A. G. Jones, was evidently strong and irresistible in the great audience.

Dr. Tupper delivered addresses also in Pictou, Halifax, Port Hood, Cumberland, Liverpool and various other parts of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The election campaign was a strenuous one, and feeling ran high, as is evinced in the following letter :

ST. JOHN,

September 7, 1878.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Thanks for your note written at Moncton. I got bruised considerably on Monday night, but have been out to-day for a couple of hours, and hope to be all right in a few days.

I am glad you were able to visit the Island. I can understand the difficulties they have to contend with, and your speeches will help our friends very much.

The cry here is duty on flour and coal. They frighten the poor people with it, and they lie so that there is some difficulty in counter-acting the effect of these statements.

The Government party are making unheard-of exertions, all through the Province, especially in St. John city and county, but our friends

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

are plucky. We count on from two to three hundred majority in the city, and are working hard to carry both men for the county. . . . We hope, however, to divide New Brunswick, though the absence of organisation until within the last two weeks, and the press generally has been against us.

You will have seen that the *Toronto Globe* only gives us nine opposition men in the Maritime Provinces. This shows how utterly unreliable are their calculations. Does Nova Scotia continue to look good for a majority of nine?—Yours sincerely,

S. L. TILLEY.

HON. DR. C. TUPPER, C.B.

The election of 1878 took place on September 17. The large majority of over sixty by which the Liberal Government was sustained in 1874 was not only annihilated, but the Conservatives were returned to power with about the same majority on their side. Sir Charles's forecast to Lord Dufferin was fulfilled. Mr. Mackenzie and his party were assured of victory until they were undeceived by the polls on election day. It is not necessary to regard Mr. Mackenzie as uncandid in his judgment of the elections given to the Governor-General, because it differed so widely from that of Dr. Tupper, which proved to be correct.

On October 8 Mackenzie resigned, and Sir John A. Macdonald was called upon to form a Ministry. He wrote to Dr. Tupper :

WINDSOR HOTEL, MONTREAL,
October 9, 1878.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—By appointment I met the Governor-General at 1.15 to-day. He was very gushing, and said that on personal grounds the warmest wish of his heart was gratified by his having the opportunity of charging me with the formation of a Ministry. Mackenzie resigned last night, but it dates from to-day.

I told him my Cabinet was not cut and dry, and could not be till Wednesday when Masson was expected. He remains, therefore, until the 19th. We talked over tariff and a number of things, but he said that as he was going to remain, we could resume our conversation daily on the several topics of public interest. He seemed satisfied and relieved by my general opinion as to tariff.

I have telegraphed for Pope, Jas. Macdonald and Tilley. I think

Conservatives Again in Power

that as they won't be here for a couple of days you can safely go to Gooderich if wanted. With R. L. Cartwright out, Tilley will have plain sailing, so we must defeat him if possible. John O. Donoghue, Hawkins and Foly must go up to fight the Catholics. The I. Canadians must also speak out.

Will you see Foly and have all this attended to? Joly is doomed. Terrcotte, the Speaker, has been boasting that, "We Conservatives have crushed the Rouges." I have seen most of the Montreal Conservatives. . . . They are against Langevin.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

After the general election Dr. Tupper, on returning to his home in Toronto, told Mrs. Tupper that it would be necessary for them to go back to Ottawa to reside. His journal informs us that her reply was: "It is more than it is worth to leave Toronto." He adds that it was hard indeed for them to leave a city where they had received so much kindness from the most agreeable people.

The following were the members of the Cabinet formed by Sir John A. Macdonald:

The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, *Minister of the Interior and Prime Minister.*

The Hon. S. L. Tilley, *Minister of Finance.*

The Hon. Charles Tupper, *Minister of Public Works.*

The Hon. John Henry Pope, *Minister of Agriculture.*

The Hon. John O'Connor, *President of the Privy Council.*

The Hon. James Macdonald, *Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.*

The Hon. Hector Langevin, *Postmaster-General.*

I. Cox Aikens, *Secretary of State.*

Senator the Hon. L. F. B. Masson, *Minister of Militia and Defence.*

The Hon. J. C. Pope, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*

The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, *Minister of Customs.*

The Hon. Alex. Campbell, *Receiver-General.*

The Hon. B. D. Wilmot, *Speaker of the Senate.*

All were re-elected by acclamation.

Conservatives Again in Power

Brydges himself assured Dr. Tupper that he would serve faithfully under him.

To these appeals Dr. Tupper replied that having characterised Mr. Brydges' railway management as he had on the floor of the House of Commons, he could not stultify himself before the public. Also, Mr. Brydges had authorised the statement that the operation of the Intercolonial Railway would cost the country \$700,000 more than the receipts, that the deficit under his management was \$716,083, while he, Dr. Tupper, hoped to balance the one with the other. Dr. Tupper, therefore, told Mr. Brydges that in the circumstances his proposal would not be creditable to either of them, but that he would be glad to promote his interests in any other possible way. Mr. Brydges thanked him for his kindness, and resigned his office. They continued friends as long as Mr. Brydges lived.

The re-location of the Intercolonial Railway effected a large reduction in the cost of the service. Mr. David Pottinger was appointed Chief Superintendent in the place of Mr. Brydges. After thoroughly discussing the whole matter of conducting the road with Mr. Schreiber, Mr. Pottinger and Mr. Archibald, the engineer, large reductions were made in the number of employees and the salaries of those whose services were retained. The whole system was reorganised with a view to justice and economy. The result was that the income and the expenditure were nearly equalised.

Parliament opened on February 13, 1879. The first division took place just a month later. It was on the motion of Sir John A. Macdonald censuring the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor of Québec for dismissing his Ministers. The motion was carried by 136 to 51. The day following, Mr. Tilley, Minister of Finance, introduced his Budget, which carried out the principle of the National Policy advocated by Dr. Tupper in the first session of the Dominion House of Commons after Con-

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

federation, and afterwards adopted as the policy of the Conservative party while in opposition from 1873 to 1878. Mr. Cartwright replied to the Budget speech of the Minister of Finance.

This was a crisis in the history of the young Dominion. The new fiscal policy was essential and vital. The example of England from 1832 to the date of its introduction into the Dominion Parliament was against it. It was an old order of things in legislation, and under the leadership of Richard Cobden, after a prolonged and severe struggle, had been driven from the politics of the Mother Country. It was now regarded by Liberals as effete, condemned and cast out. To favour and advocate it required great courage. Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Cartwright felt safe and strong in opposing it. But in conditions and circumstances widely differing from those of the Old Country, under the advocacy and leadership of Dr. Tupper, the Conservative party, some members no doubt with misgivings and timidity, had adopted it and were prepared to carry it into operation. The United States, by a high tariff, had just entered upon her career of political, industrial and financial prosperity. If the sentiment of English statesmen was against a National Policy, that of the politicians of the United States was in favour of it. A policy so radical would necessarily affect the country in an extreme degree, either for better or for worse.

The views at this crisis given by Dr. Tupper in his speech in reply to Mr. Cartwright supply the reader with a definite knowledge of the arguments used by him when the matter was under discussion in the House of Commons. His criticisms of Mr. Cartwright, the late Finance Minister, were fearless and crushing. His confidence in the effect the National Policy would have on the prosperity of the country has been justified in its history. In referring to the succession of deficits under Liberal rule, Dr. Tupper said :

“And yet, sir, year after year, this wonderful financier, this heaven-born financier, this man who now stands up and would lead

Conservatives Again in Power

After preliminary negotiations with the Grand Trunk Railway, Dr. Tupper arranged with that company for the purchase of one hundred miles of their road from Rivière du Loup to Quebec. This bargain was sanctioned by Parliament and an Act passed confirming it. Parliament provided also \$1,875,000.00 to meet the expenses of the transaction. Dr. Tupper introduced a Bill dividing the department of Public Works, one to be known as that of Public Works, and the other as that of Railways and Canals, and after it had been adopted himself took over the portfolio of Minister of Railways and Canals.

The matter transcending in importance all others brought up in this session of Parliament, except, perhaps, a sane and sound tariff, was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Some progress had been made on the Georgian Bay Branch; but, as has been stated, the line between the west of Lake Superior and Winnipeg lacked 185 miles in the middle to unite these two points. All saw that the completion of this link was of the greatest importance.

Dr. Tupper submitted the railway policy of the Government by moving a series of resolutions authorising Parliament, after deciding on its location and endeavouring to secure the co-operation of the British Government, to put under contract 125 miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway. To the adverse criticisms of Messrs. Mackenzie, Mills, Cartwright and others who spoke against these resolutions, Dr. Tupper made an effective reply. They had objected to his resolutions because power was asked to contract for 125 miles of the road before it was located. Dr. Tupper showed that, in the first place, the Act of 1874, authorising the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by the Government, did not require the sanction of Parliament to the location of any part of the road, and secondly, that Mr. Mackenzie had contracted for long sections of the line without the sanction of Parliament; that, in fact, he had advertised for tenders for 125 miles from Yale to Kamloops without the sanction of Parlia-



The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

"It appears to the Canadian Government eminently desirable to provide for the fullest and most frank interchange of views with Her Majesty's Government, and for the thorough appreciation of the policy of Canada on all points of general interest. Otherwise there appears to be danger of a feeling growing up of indifference, if not of actual antagonism and irritation upon both sides. The idea must be avoided, that the connection of Canada with the British Empire is only temporary and unabiding, instead of being designed to strengthen and confirm the maintenance of British influence and power.

"It is now being found in practice that there are constantly questions arising connected with the administration of affairs in Canada, requiring discussions in a mode and to an extent wholly impracticable through the ordinary channel of correspondence through the Governor-General—and periodical visits have to be made to London for this purpose by important members of the Canadian Government, entailing serious inconvenience. At this moment the following subjects are thus under consideration :

"The Pacific Railway and important collateral subjects—Treaties of Commerce with France and Spain—Esquimaux Graving Dock—Military defence of Canada generally and of British Columbia, more especially, while the Fishery and Commercial clauses of the Washington Treaty may at any moment be reopened by the United States, with many other matters of importance connected with the better organisation of the military front of the Dominion.

"It is manifestly impossible that the views of the Canadian Government on most subjects can be submitted for the intelligent consideration of Her Majesty's Government in any other mode than that of personal communication ; and as the subjects themselves relate to different departments of administration, the necessity arises for the absence from their posts at this moment of not less than three most prominent ministers.

"It is further submitted that the very large and rapidly augmenting commerce of Canada, and the increasing extent of her trade with foreign nations, is proving the absolute need of direct negotiation with them for the proper protection of her interests. In the treaties of commerce entered into by England, reference has only been made to their effect on the United Kingdom, and the colonies are excluded from their operation—a result which has been attended with most unfortunate results to Canada, as relates to France. This is, to a certain extent, unavoidable, in consequence of the control of all customs having been granted to Canada, but a necessity has thus arisen for providing separate and distinct trade conventions with all foreign

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

and the appointment first of the Hon. A. T. Galt at a salary of \$10,000 a year and \$4,000 for contingencies. The Imperial Government conceded the private entrée to the High Commissioner.

It became more and more evident as time passed that Sir Charles Tupper had an innate penchant for the pursuit of large political game. The greater the occasion, the more easily he seemed to rise to it. The largest undertakings became light matters in his hands. No one had equal confidence in the ability of Canada to construct, as a single enterprise, a line of railway from ocean to ocean. The fact that such a road was not attempted by the United States until the population of the Republic was about forty millions, to him was no valid reason why four million Canadians could not do the work.

While in England on this mission, Sir Charles decided to purchase 50,000 tons of steel rails. As he believed that asking for tenders for the whole amount would immediately cause a rise in the price, he advertised for only 5,000 tons. When the tenders came in, he accepted the lowest tender and arranged to take ten thousand tons at that price. He then accepted the second lowest tender and bargained to take 10,000 at that price, and so on until he had contracts for the 50,000 tons. The result was that these 50,000 tons of steel rails cost \$1,518,000 less than Mr. Mackenzie paid for the same quantity when he was Minister of Public Works. They were purchased at the lowest price ever before known, and one year later would have cost half a million dollars more.

On the return of the delegates to Canada, the Georgian Bay contract was cancelled on the ground that it would involve a large expenditure without a commensurate value to the country.

The Government decided to adopt the Fraser River route for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and put 125 miles under contract from Lake Kamloops to Yale. This was divided

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

Parliament was opened on February 12, 1880.

The Speech from the Throne announced that vigorous measures would be adopted to promote the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that the rigid system of economy adopted in the management of the Intercolonial Railway, without impairing its efficiency, warranted the belief that in the future no serious burden would be incurred by deficits in its operation. The Finance Minister, Sir Leonard Tilley, introduced his Budget, and was severely criticised by Sir R. Cartwright, to whom Sir Charles Tupper replied in a speech which forms the best illustration in his parliamentary addresses of his hew-Agag-in-pieces style of treating an arrogant opponent. Sir Richard Cartwright's record for five years as Financial Secretary had been a conspicuous failure. The wounds he had received from Dr. Tupper's criticisms were not yet healed. Listening to Sir Leonard S. Tilley's first Budget speech gave Sir Richard an opportunity to exercise his talents and skill as critic of another man's Budget. Such was his temperament that it was difficult for him generously to let bygones be bygones, or amiably to accept defeat. The successful crusade, virtually led by Sir Charles Tupper, against the Liberal Government had left unhealed wounds in his spirit. His criticism of Sir Leonard's Budget, therefore, partook largely of caustic, rancorous humour.

To Sir Charles, Sir Richard's assumptions and declarations, so arrogantly made, merited treatment such as he felt himself able to give. He seems to have begun his speech with no intention of meting out gentle dealing to his opponent. This purpose was evidently not changed before the close of his animated address, which calls to mind a characterisation of Sir Charles in such circumstances given by a writer in the *Montreal Gazette*:

"Sir Charles Tupper is one of the foremost men of this country. As a speaker, we know of no one to equal him. In making out his

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

of this Government obtaining anything from England is gone, that we have no reason to distrust a Liberal Administration any more than a Conservative Administration, and I would ask any person who knows anything of the political principles propounded by gentlemen on this side of the House, whether there is any Liberal party in England, or any man likely to be in a Liberal Cabinet in England—under Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, or Lord Hartington—who is more advanced in Liberal principles than the hon. gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. There has no doubt been a great change of parties in England, and if the Conservative party have lost power there, it has been the means of bringing into power an Administration who are no more committed to Liberal principles and a Liberal policy than the hon. gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. . . .

“ I am not dismayed at the change. I believe the interests of Canada are just as safe in the hands of Lord Cardwell, as Colonial Minister, as they were in the hands of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. . . .

“ It will be seen, therefore, that notwithstanding the fall of the Beaconsfield Administration, there is every prospect of the Government of Canada being sustained and upheld in this great national enterprise.”

On May 22 an Order in Council was passed appointing Mr. Sandford Fleming, Consulting Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, for the purpose of settling the claims which had arisen in connection with the construction of the latter road.

Mr. Fleming declined these appointments; and Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, who had succeeded him as Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, also resigned his connection with the Intercolonial Railway, and Mr. F. Shanly was appointed Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway for the settlement of the claims. The *Toronto Globe*, the organ of the Opposition, having fiercely assailed Sir Charles Tupper in connection with the contracts which he had let on the Canadian Pacific Railway, Sir Charles requested the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to examine under oath all parties connected with that work—Ministers, officials of every kind, con-

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway as it did in 1871-2, when its policy was adopted in Parliament, and of which Mr. Mackenzie said that to talk about building the road for fifty million acres of land and thirty million dollars, they might as well talk about doing it for \$10.00. They would be in the same position to tell the Parliament that, although only two years in power, the condition of the country was so changed in the estimation of the capitalists of the world that arrangements had been made upon terms which would secure the construction of the Pacific Railway. The policy of the Government had, from the outset, been that the land of the North-West should pay for the construction of the railway ; that would be fulfilled, and by using the credit of the Government for raising some of the money needed, and by a comparatively moderate portion of land, the construction of the railway within ten years had been secured, and secured upon terms which, at no distant day, would relieve the people of Canada of any charge, any debt in connection with that great work."

The Conservative was elected for Brome.

Accompanied by Mr. Schreiber, Sir Charles visited Manitoba. He was entertained by Governor Cauchon, who resided in Fort Garry, where in 1869 Sir Charles had an interview with Louis Riel in Council. On his arrival he was received by Captain Scott, M.P., who had defeated Donald Smith, the unseated member from Selkirk. A large number of gentlemen accompanied Captain Scott when he received Sir Charles.

Sir Charles was informed that at 8.30 that evening a banquet was to be given in his honour. It was then 7 o'clock. Every seat in the City Hall was filled, and an address was presented to him.

The day following the banquet, Sir Charles had a long interview with Joseph Ryan, M.P., who represented Portage La Prairie, in reference to the location of the line about eight miles north of that village. He and Mr. Schreiber left for Point Douglas and proceeded easterly, inspecting all the work to that point.

Having fully discussed the question of the line west of Winnipeg, and having arrived at the conclusion that it

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

In replying, Mr. Blake said :

" If I did not believe as I do in my heart and conscience believe, that the proposal of the Administration brought down to-day is not only fraught with great danger but certain to prove disastrous to the future of this country, which it is principally designed to serve, as they say, I should be glad to give it my support, and it is because I entertain the conviction that the measure is not merely dangerous, but ruinous, that I oppose it at the very outset. . . . "

" The hon. Minister (Sir Charles Tupper), speaking of his own share in this great work, hoped he would be able to leave it as a legacy to his children. I hope he will ; and that will be a substantial legacy—one that will enable them, in all time to come, to look back with complacency on this great work of the hon. gentleman's life. . . . "

The following paragraph closed Mr. Blake's speech :

" A contract might have been presented containing altogether other terms which might have been worthy of our adoption. This contract is worthy, in my opinion, only our rejection. I shall not venture to hope that this House will reject it, but I do not doubt that an indignant country, although you will not give it time now to raise its voice, will take the earliest opportunity to inflict a summary penalty upon those persons, offenders for the second time, who have once betrayed when entrusted with power their country's honour, and having been forgiven, have now taken advantage of the opportunity which a too confiding people conferred upon them to betray in the same transaction her most vital and material interests."

Sir Richard Cartwright followed with a speech scintillating with classic and caustic diction, in the course of which he said he considered the Bill " simply as a monument of folly."

The allusions made by Mr. Blake and Sir Richard Cartwright to public sentiment were not wholly imaginary. Doubts and fears were privately expressed in Halifax by leading men who supported the Government. They were oppressed with the fear that the party would break down under the financial load imposed upon it. Knowing the temper of the public in this respect, Mr. Blake resolved to make an appeal to it which, it was generally believed, would so act upon Parliament as to compel the Govern-

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

munications which he understood had been received that day by the Minister of Railways, containing certain vouchers by banks for the payment of \$1,300,000 in the name of Sir William P. Howland in connection with the proposal of the new syndicate.

Sir Charles replied that he "would lay on the table to-morrow all papers that might reach him up to the meeting of the House." This promise was fulfilled on the 18th, when Sir Charles laid on the table the offer of another syndicate for a new contract.

Before this time, Mr. Blake, having yielded to what was popularly known as "the Blake section" of the Liberal party, was induced to supersede Mr. Mackenzie as leader of the Opposition. The justification for this extraordinary occurrence in the Liberal party was keenly felt by Mr. Blake. His integrity was deep based and firmly fixed, four square to every wind that blew. On him rested the burden of proving the right and wisdom of the change in leadership. He therefore bowed himself to this task. But, as in the case of Edmund Burke, the gift of the political leader was not found among his many and great endowments. In him, the new syndicate had a distinguished advocate. In his attempts to block the Government's contract, by one originating in the Liberal party, he sought to work upon the fears of the Conservatives in the House and further to inflame the zeal of his own party.

The conditions of the new offer gave the Liberal party a fresh impulse. At the conclusion of a long speech, in which the new offer was compared with the contract under consideration, Mr. Blake said :

"That in order that the feelings of this House may be tested and its opinion upon the state of things as we present it, I move an amendment, that the said resolutions be not now read a second time ; but that it be resolved : . . ."

Here follows a condensed synopsis of the history and stipulations of the bargain with the Canadian Pacific Rail-

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

mined and assured when the National Policy and the Bill for the Canadian Pacific Railway were sustained by overwhelming majorities in the Parliament of the Dominion. When Sir Charles said in the early stage of the debate that he would leave the part he had taken in initiating and carrying into effect the contract for building the Canadian Pacific Railway as a legacy to his children, Sir Richard Cartwright replied: "I pity the children." But he lived to see the day when he could congratulate the children.

On January 19 Sir Charles received a telegram saying his father had died after a few days' illness. Although in the eighty-seventh year of his age and the sixty-fourth of his ministry, he had retained the full use of his faculties until the end. Knowing the important and pressing duties devolving upon his son in Parliament, he had expressed a wish that he should not desert them. Sir John Macdonald urged Sir Charles to remain at his post, as his presence was indispensable. Mr. Blake kindly wrote to Sir Charles expressing his sympathy and offering to make any arrangement he desired as to the debate. Sir Charles thanked him warmly, but decided to remain at his post. Lady Tupper, who was joined by her son, Charles Hibbert, at Amherst, went to the funeral held at Tremont, in the Annapolis Valley.¹

¹ As the Rev. Dr. Tupper for a number of years was my beloved pastor, I feel constrained to add my testimony to the excellences of this man of God.

The Rev. Dr. Tupper was called to the pastorate of a city church, but finding it detrimental to his health, he returned to the country, where his churches, the last of which he served for thirty years, was spread over a broad extent of country. By means of persevering industry and careful order he visited every family and knew personally every member of his flock. No time was spent idly by him. He took no holidays, except to visit friends in distant places, but in these visits his labours as a minister of the Gospel were continued. By ceaseless industry he learned thirteen languages. His memory was of immense capacity and rigidly tenacious. On my asking his opinion of any difficult passage either in the Old or New Testament, he would, off-hand, give me the views of leading commentators, some of which, perhaps, he had not read for thirty or forty years, and then modestly give his own opinion.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

OTTAWA,

March 21, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I sincerely hope that you have had a good beneficial voyage. We shall expect news of your safe arrival to-morrow or next day.

Parliament prorogues to-day after a most successful session. But we must not lie upon our oars. The Opposition are going to agitate the country on the C. P. R. They have printed and distributed literally tons of pamphlets containing their twenty-five resolutions and speeches. I hope by midsummer you will be back with renewed health and strength, and we must organise for 1883—but you must not come back a moment sooner than Andrew Clark says you should.

We had last week a parting caucus. It was a most enthusiastic one, and I talked to them like a Dutch uncle about working in their counties. They passed a unanimous resolution of thanks for your services and sympathy for your illness which will be sent you in due course. We have kept Charlevoix. Two Conservatives ran—Cimon was elected. He has served under me before. We have won Bellechasse from the Grits. Larne, you may remember, was unseated and disqualified. Our friend Amyot, after several defeats, has at last carried the county. J. C. Pope is not well. I fear his malady is increasing, and that we must make up our minds to part with him. I shall do nothing in such matters until you return.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper and the Camerons,—Believe me, my dear Tupper, Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

OTTAWA,

April 11, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I was delighted to get your telegram stating that you were much better. As we had heard nothing from you, we were beginning to be very anxious. I expect your promised letter to-morrow or next day. I have been very unwell—I may say ill for the last fortnight. There was no ascertainable cause for it—but suddenly I broke down—pulse at 49, and great pain and disturbance in liver and bowels. Grant was very much alarmed, but here I am, slowly, but, I think, certainly, recovering.

I must, I fear, go away somewhere as soon as the weather becomes warmer. I enclose you a letter from Archibald which I have merely acknowledged.

We must await your return before filling the place. Macdonald is now at Halifax, and writes that we must wait for you. It seems to

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

OTTAWA,

May 16, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—On consideration; I am greatly alarmed at the chance of Pictou being lost. If so, I think we may as well hang up our fiddles.

Ontario is just on the balance, and the Government manufacturers are making terms with Blake. With Carlton lost in New Brunswick, and Pictou (a coal constituency) lost too, the stampede will be tremendous, and the opinion fixed in the country that we are doomed. The falling house will be deserted. Now, why should all this happen?

Sir William Young will withdraw his resignation if promised to be made Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1883, and Macdonald can remain until just before the general election. The Order in Council accepting the resignation can be cancelled.

This, in my opinion, is all important.—In haste, Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Charles proposed that the Hon. James Macdonald, then Minister of Justice, should be appointed Chief Justice in place of Sir William Young; but Sir John argued that as the Government had lost one seat in Ontario and one in New Brunswick, it would be fatal to lose one in Nova Scotia, which would likely be the case if Pictou should be opened by the appointment of Mr. Macdonald. But Sir Charles knew the political conditions, possibilities and certainties in his native Province better than any man in Ontario could know them. He resolved to take the bold course. Instead of opening one county in Nova Scotia, he would open two. The plan he suggested was that the Hon. A. W. McLelan should resign his seat in the Senate and run for Colchester in place of Mr. McKay, then representing that county, who could be appointed in place of Mr. McLelan to the Senate. Mr. Macdonald, by this arrangement, would get the appointment to which he was entitled, and Sir Charles would have an old Liberal as his Nova Scotia colleague. Moreover, this arrangement would perpetuate the union of both political parties for Nova Scotia. So confident was Sir Charles of the

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

stated that ex-Speaker T. Anglin would meet Sir Charles at Pictou on nomination day. This announcement was made good. On that day the candidates, Sir Charles and Mr. Anglin, made their appeals to the people. At another meeting held at New Glasgow the same speakers were heard. Sir Charles then left for Rimouski, where he went to meet Lady Tupper on her return from England.

The result in Pictou was a majority for Mr. McDougald of 223. Mr. McLelan's majority in Colchester was 443.

These inspiring results were cabled by Sir Charles to Sir John A. Macdonald. The clouds gathering ominously in the Liberal-Conservative sky began to disperse as a result of these elections. The signs of the times seen pointing in the direction of success for the Opposition changed as suddenly as a weather-cock.

Following the victories in Colchester and Pictou, Sir Charles held a series of political meetings in New Brunswick. The *Moncton Times* made it known that the train on which Sir Charles was coming would leave Amherst at ten o'clock, reach Moncton at noon, and leave immediately for St. John. Ovations awaited Sir Charles at every station. He was met at St. John by Sir S. L. Tilley. When they entered the carriage at the station,

"thousands of voices raised deafening cheers. Dorchester Street was one great mass of moving humanity, the crowd being so dense that many boys and girls on the sidewalks were in great danger of being crushed. All along the route handkerchiefs waved from the windows. At the corner of Dorchester and Union Streets the horses were taken from the barouche containing Sir Charles and Sir Leonard, and their enthusiastic admirers caught up the tongue and drew them along with a grand rush, amid the cheers of the crowd. Arriving in front of the Royal, there was a great display of handkerchiefs from the many windows in the opposing structures in that vicinity, and the crowd set up a mighty cheer. Sir Charles and party entered the hotel, and shortly afterwards there were loud calls for 'Tupper,' which Sir Charles had to satisfy with a speech from the balcony of the hotel."

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

reins of power? Never, I am convinced, did a government hand over its effects in a more prosperous state than ours when we retired. In the seven years we were in power we rolled up a surplus of \$14,000,000 or \$2,000,000 per year. When we found as now, that our income was more than we required, we gave to the people tea and coffee free of duty, thus lifting from their burdens \$1,200,000 per year, besides \$800,000 in other removed taxations or \$2,000,000 in all. Yet Mr. Blake is anxious to try conclusions. The conclusions, I can tell him, have been tried already. The only thing now is the record, and with reference to this, I am confident, able as he undoubtedly is, that he will have to talk a long while to turn the tables against us. The first thing the Mackenzie Government did when they got in power was to ask for \$3,000,000 additional taxation. Happily they went out of power in 1878. Had they stayed in power until the first of July, 1879, they would have had to explain away a deficit of \$7,000,000. Why didn't Mr. Blake and his friends, who clamour so loudly for a readjustment of the tariff, readjust it then? No, but the humiliating confession they had to make to you, in the person of the Finance Minister himself, was that they had gone to the limit of indirect taxation and that the only means they saw of running the country was to lay on a tax direct. And yet my friend Mr. Blake comes down here to ask that he be given a chance to readjust the tariff. . . .

"In the same hour that the Mackenzie Government asked for \$3,000,000 additional taxes they undertook the construction of the railway to the West as a public work. When we had the great North-West brought in and Canada united with British Columbia, we felt it our duty to bind the Provinces together by an iron band extending from ocean to ocean, because we had money to do it with. But we did not go recklessly into the great work. Our policy from the first was caution in the expenditure of public moneys. Construction of the road, we thought, was warranted by the magnificent great North-West being opened up, and we felt that we could make the lands pay for the railway. And here let me say with respect to Mr. Blake's charge upon our change of policy, that I know nothing the public should watch so close as changes in the policy of public men. The Grits said we could not bear the expense of building the road, but we said all we wanted was \$30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. Well we tried it, but we were hounded from door to door in the markets of the world to obstruct our negotiations. The company fell and we fell with them. The Grits washed their hands of the whole affair, but when they got into power they startled the country with the announcement that they had decided to build the

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

to be eloquent if, as the old adage goes, eloquence consists in feeling the truth and speaking it.

"I do not wonder that we are beginning to feel a pride in seeing ourselves lifted from a comparative state of insignificance into one of grandeur—in a few years surpassing in prosperity the greatest examples that the world affords. I say that with the advantage of the National Policy we have a future before us which may justly inspire the enthusiasm of every son of Canada. I believe that with wise and judicious statesmanship our success is completely assured. All the doubts I have had are swept away with the solving of this railway problem. Under these circumstances I congratulate you and my country in having passed from a position of commercial gloom into one of the brightest prospect."

Meetings held at Fredericton and Woodstock were as enthusiastic as the one in St. John. Of the one in Fredericton, the *St. John Sun* said that Sir Charles occupied over two hours and a half, spoke with even more force and eloquence than in St. John, and was frequently applauded. The meeting at Woodstock was held in the open air, and lasted four hours.

Sir Charles was obliged to decline a public dinner in Halifax as he had made arrangements for going to British Columbia. He had seen the wild prairies through the winter storms of 1869. He was now familiar with the cities and country of the entire east, but he had not yet looked upon the west of the Dominion washed by the Pacific Ocean.

In view of his age—he was then sixty—and the advantages of his past life, Sir Charles, when he went west in 1881 in the interests especially of the Canadian Pacific Railway, possessed the confidence of the Canadian public, and was perhaps for the first time regarded and accepted by both political parties as a distinguished personality and a great statesman.

Accompanied by a select party, Sir Charles left Montreal on August 8, 1881, for British Columbia. In this company were Lady Tupper, Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Mr.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

struction at Esquimalt, were examined, also the harbour, and thence the party embarked on board the Dominion steamer *Sir James Douglas* for Nanaimo, having in addition to their original party Mr. Trutch¹ and his secretary, Mr. Boville, Mr. Walkem, Attorney-General and the leader of the local Government, also Mr. Dunsmuir, the proprietor of the Nanaimo Coal Mine.

On reaching Nanaimo, the Hudson's Bay blockhouse was one of the objects of interest to the party, suggesting the past. Equally enthusiastic were the mayor and corporation at this place in presenting an address to Sir Charles. In his reply, he was able to tell them that the time was near at hand when, going to the east of the Dominion, it would not be necessary to make a round-about journey by San Francisco and Chicago, as he had just done, but the highway of travel would be directly through the ranges of mountains and over the rich prairies.

Giant trees, giant mountains, and a majestic river draining the distant north and the distant east as it rushed onward to the sea, and a people who had just reached the end of a corroding disappointment and an exasperating delay, greeted Sir Charles Tupper on this, his first and memorable visit to British Columbia. The excitement, the exhilaration, the enthusiasm were not all with the people. The vision of a united British North America, continuously present with him for the last twenty years, for which he had laboured so hard, and which was now to him *fait accompli*, carried him, as well it might, to a pitch of enthusiasm never before felt in his political career. The assurance, now mutual, that resentful discontent had come to an end, and that future prosperity beckoned them on, gave to his orations a tumultuous fervour.

¹ Mr. Trutch was a civil engineer, sent out as a member of the Council, when British Columbia was a Crown Colony. He constructed the Trutch Road and was made Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia when that Province came into the Union, and afterwards acted as Sir Charles Tupper's agent in British Columbia, supervising the construction of the railroad from Kamloops to Yale.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

up with seats cushioned and covered over with red cloth, and then we drove through to Yale, passing into and out of three hundred tunnels, one six hundred feet in length. The inevitable address was presented to Tupper, and amid much cheering we left the centre of the town and were landed at Mr. Onderdonk's door. Here four rooms were provided for Tupper, the Clarkes, Robertson and myself. Everything was on a grand scale for the locality, or rather, I should say, a most comfortable scale. We lived as if we were in New York. . . . At half-past one o'clock, luncheon being over, the famous Dufferin Coach was at the door, built after the fashion of the English mail coach, with a top that could be opened or closed at will. Robertson and Jones remained behind to follow us the next morning by an express. Mr. Onderdonk started with Tupper in his double-seated buckboard wagon and two horses. I took the box seat with Steve Lingley, the celebrated driver, over the four hundred miles of mountain road between Yale and Caribou. The ladies, Schreiber, Marcus Smith and the Clarkes were inside. The coach was commodious and very easy, and was built especially to take Lord and Lady Dufferin to Kamloops over this, the most dangerous road in the world. A splendid team of four horses carried us along at a rattling rate over heights that would have made your blood curdle. Sometimes we were over a thousand feet above the river on a road barely wide enough to carry our carriage. I trembled lest the horses should shy or a bullock team should meet us. A string of pack mules could be readily passed if we saw them in time to choose our stopping place, but a bullock team is more formidable, as the brutes will crowd and push each other just at the moment of passing our horses and carriage. These difficulties were, however, overcome. At the suspension bridge over the Fraser, I got in with Onderdonk ; and Tupper entered the carriage. . . . On arriving at 'Hell's Gate,' the narrowest part of the river, we saw marked on the mountain side of the road in red paint the height reached by the water in 1876. The river rose 140 feet, and covered portions of the road at least ten feet, stopping all travel, and rendering it necessary for the mules and passengers to take the high trail above the road on mules' backs. . . . On the opposite side of the river we could see the line of railway progressing, tunnels being driven by compressed air along the mountain heights, where it would seem impossible to make a road. Men were at work making a track above the river at dizzy and perpendicular heights. They were let down from the mountain tops on ladders with ropes attached above to trees ; and every shot that was fired in blasting, rendered it necessary that the men should get out of the way by running up those ladders. Engineers made their measure-

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

San Francisco. This most laborious and exciting visit seems to have agreed with Sir Charles. At San Francisco he states in his journal that "during my absence of twenty days from that city I found that I had gained one pound in weight for each day."

On September 14 the Canadian Association of San Francisco gave Sir Charles an enthusiastic reception. He then returned to Ottawa, via Winnipeg.

At this stage, now three score years old, and a quarter of a century in public life, Sir Charles's great popularity had for its foundation something better than a mere wind-rush of popular applause let loose in a political crisis. In Nova Scotia there had been a period of unexampled prosperity in railway building, a foundation firmly laid for public education, and the victory over opponents of Confederation. In his labours in the Dominion there were the National Policy and the Canadian Pacific Railway, the solid corner stones of Canada's future prosperity and Imperial connection.

Sir Charles, doubtless, had an ordinary and legitimate craving for recognition and a relish for applause, but it never emasculated his purposes. Even when floating on the tide of public approval, as in British Columbia, it left his mind clear and his heart strong against all seductions to compromise either policy or principle.

There rang through the ovations in British Columbia the jubilant note of the shouts of those who "divided the spoils." The steel rails were threading their way east among the mountains, and west over the prairies, and would soon be a bond of union for every Province. The further vision was that the Provinces were one, and about to be launched on a career of unexampled prosperity. The whole country, from Halifax to Victoria, was now stirred with this great thought; but the loudest shouting reverberated among the mountains of British Columbia.

Following the visit of Sir Charles to the Pacific coast

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

His own and Mr. Blake's tour of the Maritime Provinces, followed by his visit to British Columbia, had convinced Sir Charles that the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate bargain was safe. Being in good spirits and firm in his confidence that the Government would be abundantly sustained in the pending election, he was conditioned to "jolly Mr. Blake a bit." Mr. Blake's grand oration fell with chilling effect upon the people who, for an hour before its delivery, had been under the spell of a speech from Sir Charles, warm from his big heart and charged with the energy of his great personality. Had the results of the local and general elections been a matter of uncertainty, the assemblage would have got but little mirthful entertainment from Sir Charles.

The Conservative candidate was elected.

Among the letters received from Sir John A. Macdonald by Sir Charles when he was in England in the spring of 1881, was one which informed him that Mr. Blake was attempting to secure the support of the Ontario manufacturers, or, as Sir John put it, was "making his peace with them." Mr. Blake's Coburg speech confirmed Sir John's statement. At this time, three years had passed since the introduction of the National Policy. There had been an evident revival in manufacturing industries, and a largely increased revenue was the result. New capital had been invested, and statistics, gathered by a leading manufacturer of Coburg, proved that employment had been given to an increased number of men, and that this was going on year by year. Mr. Blake could not ignore these facts. As the meetings were held in a centre of manufacturing industry, he felt compelled to divulge his fiscal policy. Taxation for revenue tariff only had been the battle-cry of the Liberal leaders both in and out of Parliament. Under such a fire, the National Policy was introduced and carried. At the time of the Coburg meetings, the *Toronto Globe*, the oracle of the Liberal party, was fighting against Protection and demanding a change in

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